/11/

Introduction

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[132] The native tribes that are discussed in the present report inhabit the northwest zone of the Escudo Guayanés, located in the southern part of the Republic of Venezuela. As the natural boundaries of this region, which we call "the Orinoco-Ventuari region," one may point out the rivers: the Orinoco in the north and west; the Ventuari in the south, and the Caura in the east. Geographically the zone is enclosed between 64°-68°W. and 4°-6° N. approximately. The northern part of it corresponds to the Distrito Cedeño of Bolívar state, while the southern part, as Departamento Atures, belongs to the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

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101 Hydrographically speaking, the region includes five river basins which carry off its water and which at the same time set off the various areas of native distribution (1).

a) The basin of the Caura, with the Mayoncon /Maioncon/, a subgroup of the Makiritare, the Yecuana, and with some Sanemá groups;
b) The basin of the Cuchivero, with the Panare Indians and some unknown groups on the headwaters;
c) The basin of the Suapure, which, with the exception of some Panare nuclei, does not at the present time have any native populations;
d) The basin of the Sipapo, with the Piaroa and Macó Indians;
e) The basin of the Ventuari, with the Yabarana Indians on the Manapiare River, the Yecuana (Decuana) subtribe of the Makiritare, and the Nabudub, a Sanemá subgroup (cf. hydrographic map /see p.12/).

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[128] 1. We do not include here the small native groups who recently arrived (Guahibo, Piapoco, Puinave, Curipaco). They live along the periphery of the region, except the Guahibo, who advanced a few years ago to the Manapiare river.

Guahibo SC14
Yabarana SS22
Panare SS21

Sáliva SS15
Makiritare SS20

/11 cont./

Y 101 133 All these basins, without exception, pour their great volumes of water into the Orinoco, which, like a gigantic arc, runs across the north of the Escudo de Guayana, thus enclosing all the native tribes studied here and marking the furthermost boundary and end of their primitive world (cf. ethnic map /see p. 5 /). Y /12/ /Map appears here./

133 487 /13/ It is interesting to point out that the extensive fluvial network of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone does not serve the majority of the tribes as a means of communication or as an outstanding source of food. P 487 501 [177] The Panare of the basin of the Cuchivero do not travel by river, and on the Cuchivero we found only one dugout /*bongo*/, which was used solely for crossing the river. In general the *curiara* /dugout canoe/ seems to be a foreign element in Panare culture, introduced recently by the Creoles. Ya 501 177 Nor did the Yabarana of the basin of the Ventuari use the *curiara*, and they recently learned from their neighbors, the Makiritare, the art of making them. Y 501 484 487 For the Sanemá the river represents an obstacle rather than a means of communication, and they use rafts in order to cross it. At the present time, only the groups who live in symbiosis with the Makiritare make *curiaras*, but there is not the slightest doubt that this industry was adopted recently. Y Ya P G 226 The Sanemá spend less time at fishing than do the Panare, Yabarana, and Guahibo, since the latter two are among those Indians oriented toward the land, with its roads, rather than toward the rivers and navigation. S M 487 484 The only real voyagers of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone are the Piaroa and the Makiritare, and the fame of the latter exceeds that of the former.

M 101 Culturally, the Makiritare belong to a Neo-Indian level, as do their cousins of the same linguistic affiliation, the Panare and the Yabarana. It is interesting, however, to call attention to the fact that to speak of Caribe /Carib/ Indians is not the same *eo ipso* as speaking of voyaging Indians. There are Neo-Indians who are ignorant of the *curiara* and who developed agriculture, not in a Meso-Indian culture (of fishermen and voyagers), but basically on top of a Paleo-Indian culture (of hunters). Meso-Indian cultures, such as that of the Warao, for example, and possibly that of the Piaroa, represent a specialization of the Paleo-American who was

[Text continues on P. 4]

J. Wilbert--3 E-4, 5 (1959) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 -Sanema

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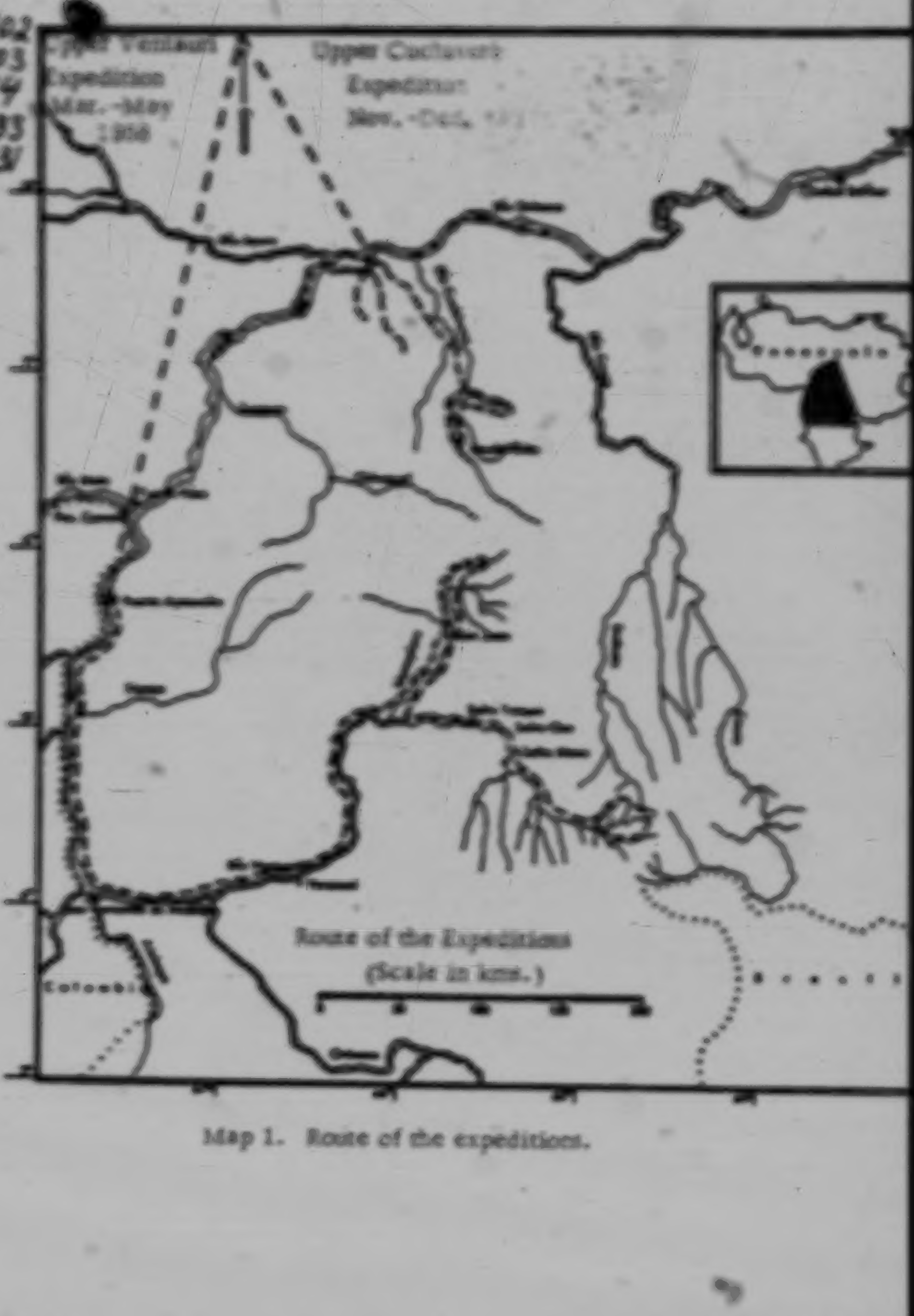
Upper Ventuari Expedition Mar.-May 1958
Upper Cuchivero Expedition Nov.-Dec.
Route of the Expeditions
(Scale in kms.)
Venezuela
Colombia

Map 1. Route of the expeditions.

Guahibo SC19 Sanema -
Yabarana SS22 Saliva SS15
Makiritare SS20 Panare SS21

14 /13 cont./

101 searching primarily for a new source of food and not so much for a better means of communication. The typical Venezuelan Caribe, at least at the present time, is a man who loves land (Pemon, Cariña, Panare, Yabarana, Tupe), and the Makiritare, river men, represent an exception among them.

P S Y/Ya M 361 According to the relative importance which the river has among the different tribes, nuclei of them are found along the principal aquatic arteries, such as those of the Makiritare, or at a distance from them, on the tributaries and headwaters, as among the Panare, Yabarana, Guahibo, and Sanemá. This circumstance is of the utmost importance for the study of these Indians. The Y/Ya [12.2] farther away they live from the river, the more difficult it is to make contact and to live with them. Thus the Panare are even less known than are the Makiritare and the Piaroa, and we are presenting in the present report the first relatively ample information on the Sanemá and Yabarana. /14/ /Map appears here./

P Y 119 /15/ The three weeks which we spent among the Panare were very laborious, and the time among the Sanemá was very hard physically.

Y 122 In spite of these difficulties, which in comparison with those of a voyage at the beginning of the century are insignificant, the zone is open for any type of communication. One can P 122 go by airplane to Caicara, Puerto Ayacucho, San Juan de Manapiare, and Cucurí (between the Tencua and Oso Falls). Thus, for a special study of the Panare one can go from Caracas to Caicara S 122 on a flight of a few hours and then continue by jeep and arrive on the same day at the first bohio of the Panare. In order to Ya 122 study the Piaroa, one goes by airplane as far as Puerto Ayacucho and then on by foot or by curiara. The Yabarana can be visited in the dry season, going by regular flight to Puerto Ayacucho and from there to San Juan de Manapiare by a flight lasting 30 minutes Y M 122 in a small plane. One reaches the houses of the Yabarana on the same say, and in two days more the "Monteros," the most autochthonous of this tribe. In order to reach Makiritare territory and the Sanemá of the upper Ventuari, one goes by airplane to Puerto Ayacucho on a regular flight and then on to Cacurí on a flight lasting 50 minutes more or less in a small plane. In

[text continues on p. 6]

6. Wilbert--3 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Achagua SC5
Saliva SC15
Pamare SS21
Makiritare SS20
Yabarana SS22

[illegible]
Puinave SC18
Barauna SQ27
Guahibo SC14

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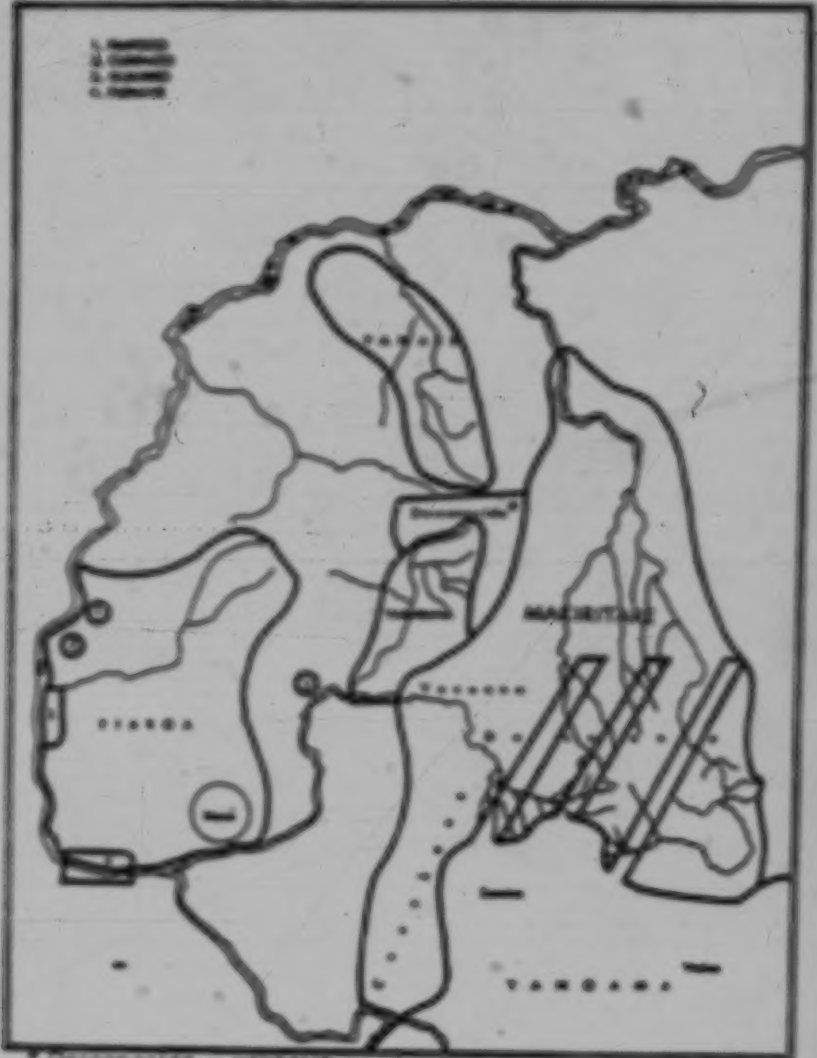

* Desconocido = unknown.

Map 2. Distribution of the native tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region.

Y /15 cont./

/122 no case are more than three or four days needed in order to get
M [122] to the site of study, and the cost is relatively low. The Waica and Samatari live in a remote corner of Venezuela. On a recent trip, however, we left Caracas at seven in the morning and were among the Waica of the Padamo at five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. We spent five hours flying and three in a fast curiara.

On a reconnaissance trip of long duration, such as the one we made for this present report, one needs to go more slowly in a curiara, stopping among the tribes, streams, and mountains. The only zone difficult to reach is that of the "[illegible]" and Chicano of the Sierra Guanapí.

Y /133 /122 The Orinoco-Ventuari region represents the secondary western massif /macizo/ of the Macizo de Guayana, with elevations above 2,000 meters. The most difficult ascent in the region was the zone south of the Raudal Alto on the Cuchivero, toward the Sierra Guanapí, and the ford of the Salto Mono on the Upper Ventuari, where the level rises to more than 1,300 meters (cf. physical map /see p. 7 /). The traversing of the Salto Mono, particularly the ascent during the rainy season, is an extremely dangerous stretch, and one must spend at least a whole day to

M [482] [482] go and six hours to return. The Makiritare go up in six hours and come down in four hours with a load of 20-30 kilograms on their backs. We came down with 20 Sanemá and 30 Makiritare in only five hours, but such a marathon is extremely tiring. On the other hand, to cross the Mono in two days is an extraordinarily beautiful excursion because of the characteristics of this mountain and its gigantic forest, which at times allows an open view /16/ /map

M /122 [481] [485] [501] appears here/ /17/ and one can gaze on an enchanting panorama. The Makiritare keep the wide path (over two meters) always open and in good repair, and at the upper port they built a house in which to rest and spend the night. There one finds curiaras with which one can follow the river to the Makiritare and Sanemá rancherias located on the headwaters of the same. From the port of Mono upriver as far as the headwaters there are no further obstacles for navigation, and the river permits easy access to all the Makiritare villages of the Upper Ventuari. We call Upper

[text continues on p. 8]

Sanema

Saliva SS15
Panare SS 21
Makiritare SS 20
Yabarana SS 22

Puinave SC 18
Barauna SC 27
Guahibo SC 14
Achagua SC 5

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Map 3. Linguistic affiliation of the native tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region.

6: Wilbert--8 S-6,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama
Makiritare SS20 Sanema
Panare SS21 ;
Venezuelan Indians SS4

M 122 [485] /17 cont./
Ventuari that part of the river from the Salto Tencua to the sources. From there the Makiritare take the expeditionists across the mountains to the Erebato, a tributary of the Caura River.

M 122 484 Communication between the flatlands of the north and the Maciso are very difficult going up the Paragua or the Caura. On this stretch the Indians themselves exhaust their strength and frequently lose their lives. During the rainy season they do not usually travel by way of these dangerous routes (Vila, 1956).

V 137 133 As is natural, physical characteristics are reflected in the different types of vegetation in the Orinoco-Ventuari region (cf. vegetation map /see p. 18/). In the low zone along the Orinoco, Ventuari, lower Cachivero, and Caura rivers are found gallery forests, chaparrals, and gramineous steppes, as, as on the upper Orinoco and on the Erebato. In the higher stretches there are mesophilous and hygrophilous deciduous forests, in part evergreen, while at the high zones, above 1,000 meters, are found mesophilous and hygrophilous forests interrupted locally by savannas. The forest between 200 and 1,000 meters elevation is frequently cut up by gramineous steppes.

P [153] [137] The term "chaparral" is used to designate the savannas filled with trees, such as those of the lower Cachivero and of the hinterland and habitat of the Panare of the north. Here, typically, are found scrubby trees 4-6 meters in height, with species such as Curatella americana, species of Byrsonima and Erythroxylum, Bowdichia virgilioides, Palicourea rigida, and Haematoxylon brasiletto.

The gramineous steppes, humid or dry, constitute the typical vegetation of the llanos. They are zones almost completely lacking in trees, interrupted by dunes or, in our zone, by marshes, and on occasion with chaparrals or other woody elements in the transition zones of the north. The savannas and steppes of the high sierras of Guayana /Guiana/ still remain almost unexplored.

The gallery forests which we pointed out for the dry regions are made up in the main of moriche groves. The moriche groves of the lower Cachivero are /18/ /map appears here/ /19/ known in Venezuela for their beauty, in spite of the fact that, for the

[Text Cont. on P.10]

6: Wilbert--9 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ19
Sanema

Venezuelan Indians
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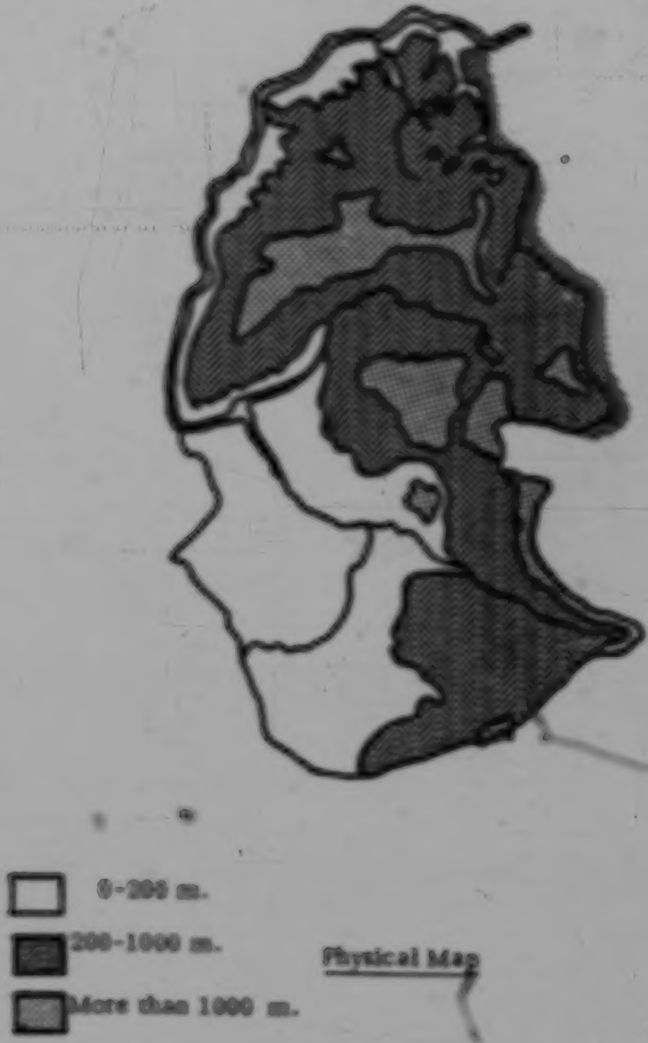
0-200 m.
200-1000 m.
More than 1000 m.

Physical Map

Map 4. Physical map of the southern part of Venezuela (according to Vila, 1959).

V /19 cont./

/37 [/33] traveler, they usually indicate an obstacle, even in dry seasons.

The hygrophilous selvas, constantly green (tropical rain forest), are made up of trees from 20-50 meters in height, intertwined with lianas and epiphytes. The trunks on occasion measure over two meters in diameter, and once in a while they have tabular roots. Among the characteristic species are found: Anacardium rhinocarpus, Terminalia amazonica, Philodendron bipinnatum, Sterculia apetala, Basiloxylon brasiliensis, Astronium graveolens, Brosimum spec., Pouteria spec., Guarea spec., Carapa guianensis, Mora excelsa, Bertholletia excelsa, Hevea benthamiana, and Ochroma lagopus.

In the Venezuelan region of Guayana it is difficult to make a distinction between the zones of hygrophilous selvas and the deciduous mesophilous forests. In Venezuela the deciduous mesophilous forests occupy the most extensive part of all the forest zones. Owing to the dry season, this type of forest has a smaller number of species than the hygrophilous selvas. The trees attain a height between 20-40 meters, and lianas are less abundant than in the hygrophilous forests. Among the important species in the deciduous forests of our region are found: Cedrela mexicana (cedar), Swietenia macrophylla (mahogany), Anacardium rhinocarpus (mijao) Mombacopsis sepium (saquisaqui), Spondias mombin (jobo), Samanea saman (saman) and Tabebuia pentaphylla (apamate) (Hueck, 1960). Y V

/14 /27 As we have already indicated in the preface /untranslated/, the present book is the result of a report on two trips and of a bibliographical study of the extant data on the zone visited (cf. map: Route of the expedition /see p. 3 /). Although it is true that no monographic work has yet been written for any of the tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region, it is also true that the great number of articles which have been published on the Indians of that zone is surprising. The material is primarily descriptive, but since they often describe for us aspects of native life which have now disappeared or changed, the general material of these authors is of great value and interest.

Venezuelan Indians SS4

Y V 127 128 /19 cont./

In the present report we use most of the extant data, and their compilation, ordering, and selection, together with our own personal contribution, constitute the study which we present here on the Indians of this part of Venezuela.

Y V 114 128 [113] For our purpose we followed the footsteps of the great Venezuelan ethnologist, Lisandro Alvarado, who, with the publication of his book, Datos Etnográficos de Venezuela /Ethnographic Data of Venezuela/, took a firm step toward the great task of compiling /20/ all the objective material written over the course of many decades regarding the native tribes of this part of the world (2).

Y V [113]

(2) Obras completas de Lisandro Alvarado /Complete Works of Lisandro Alvarado/, Vol. 4 (Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura y Bellas Artes). Caracas, 1956.

Y V 128 Our report lacks uniformity with regard to the character and volume of material on the various tribes to which we refer, but this fact reflects precisely our present sporadic knowledge concerning the tribes, which, in the last phase of their autochthonous life, urgently invite the competent ethnologist to leave testimony of a human conglomerate of our ancient American continent. /Maps 5 and 6 appear here. Pages 21-176 are not included in the translation./

4: Wilbert--12 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Venezuelan Indians
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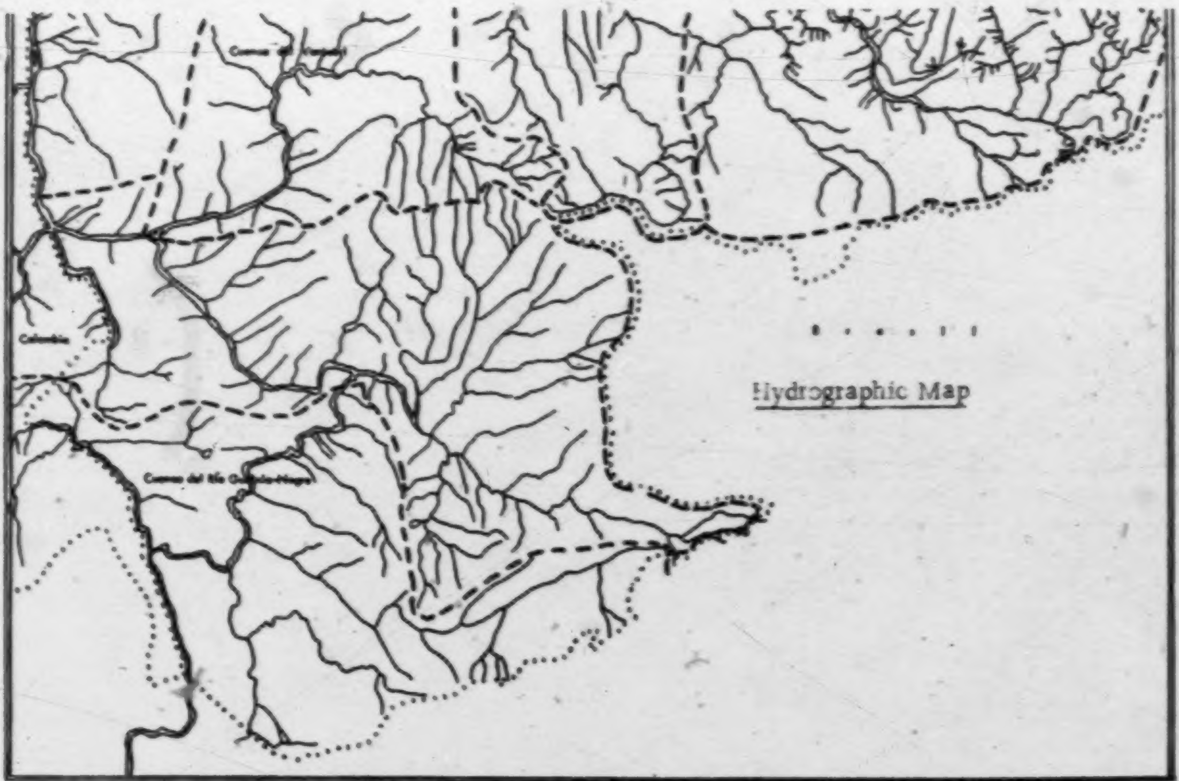
Venezuelan Indians
SS4



Map 5. Hydrographic map of the southern part of Venezuela (according to Vila, 1959).

4: Wilbert--14 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Sanema

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Venezuelan Indians
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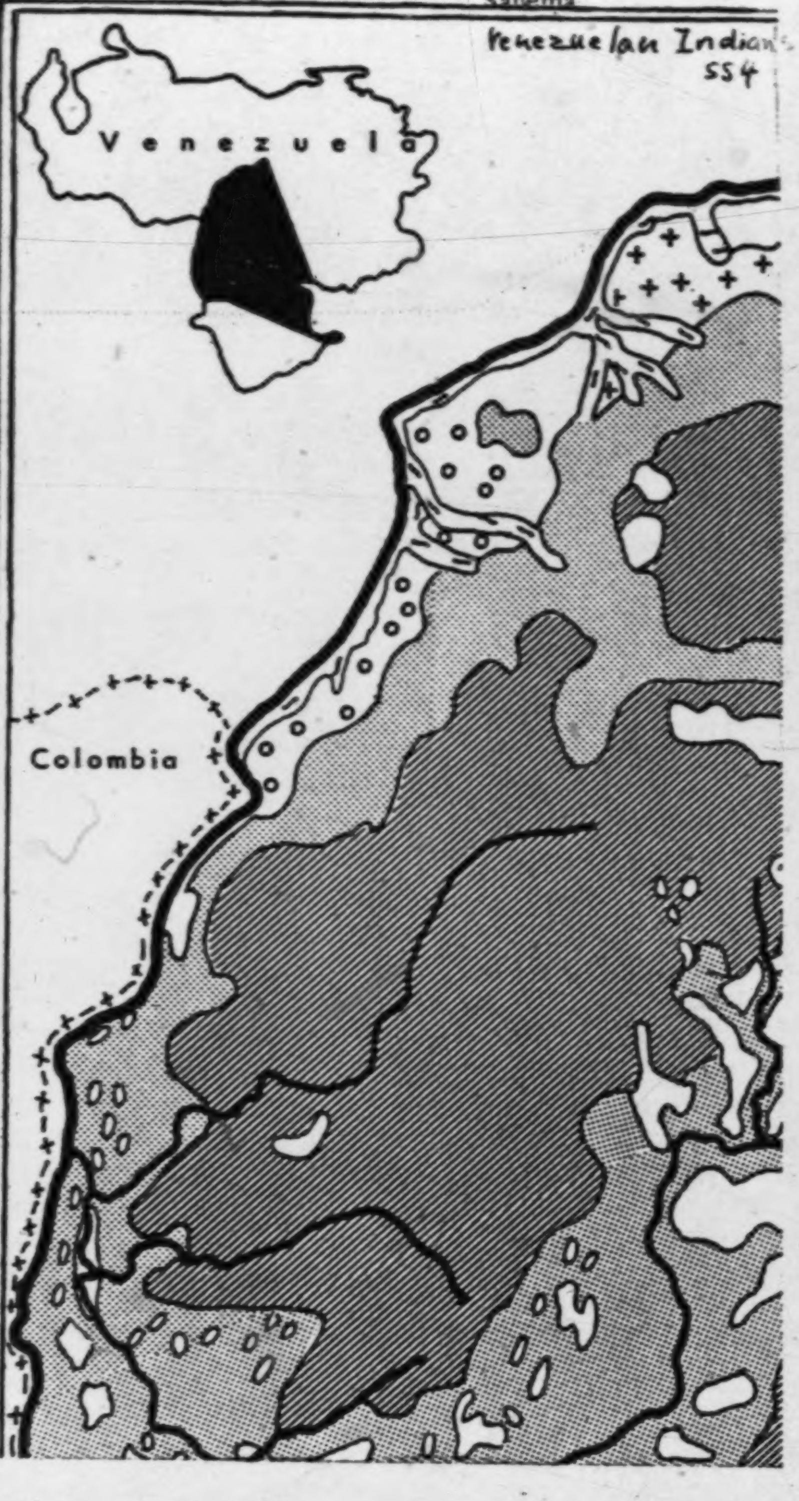
Venezuela
Colombia

4; Wilbert--15 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Venezuelan Indians SS4

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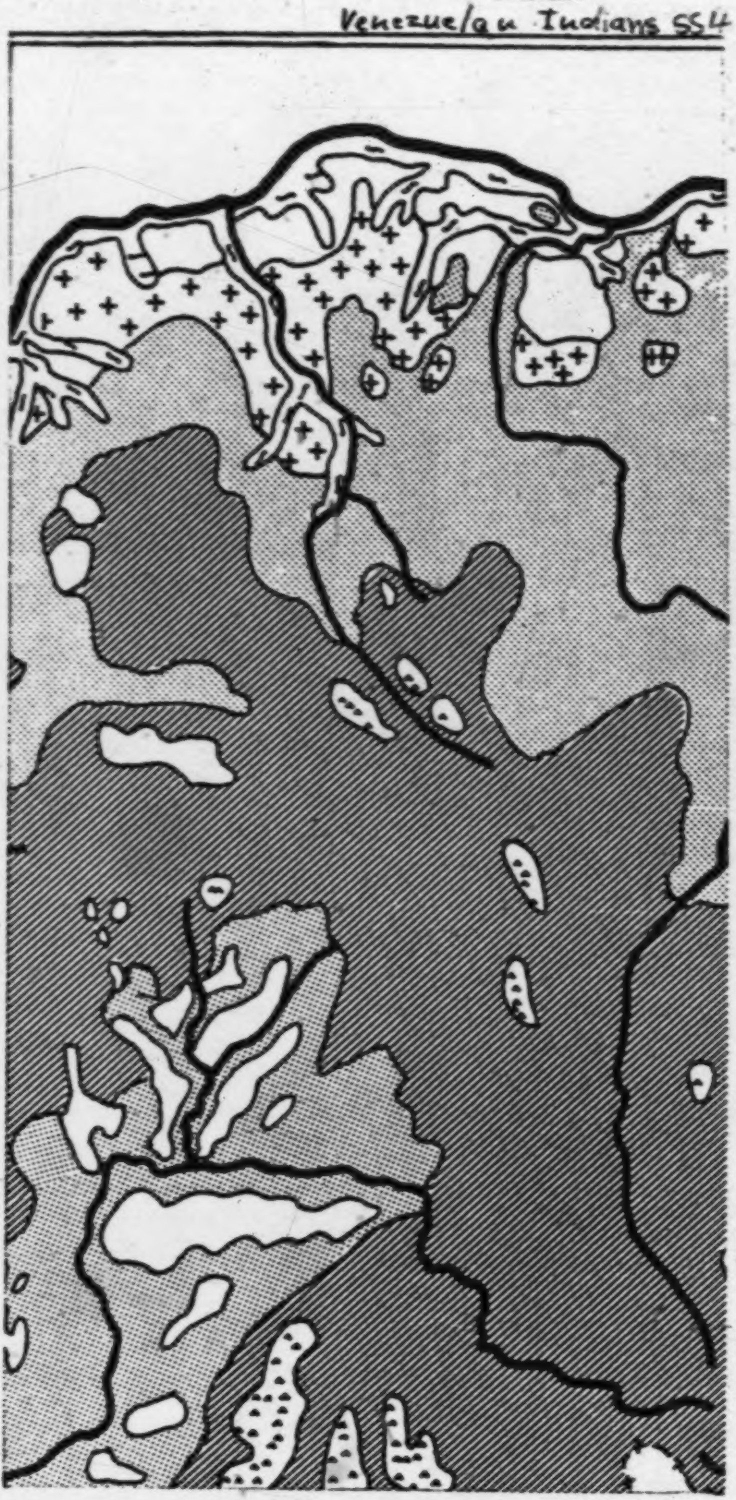

4: Wilbert--16 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Venezuelan Ind. 554 Sanema

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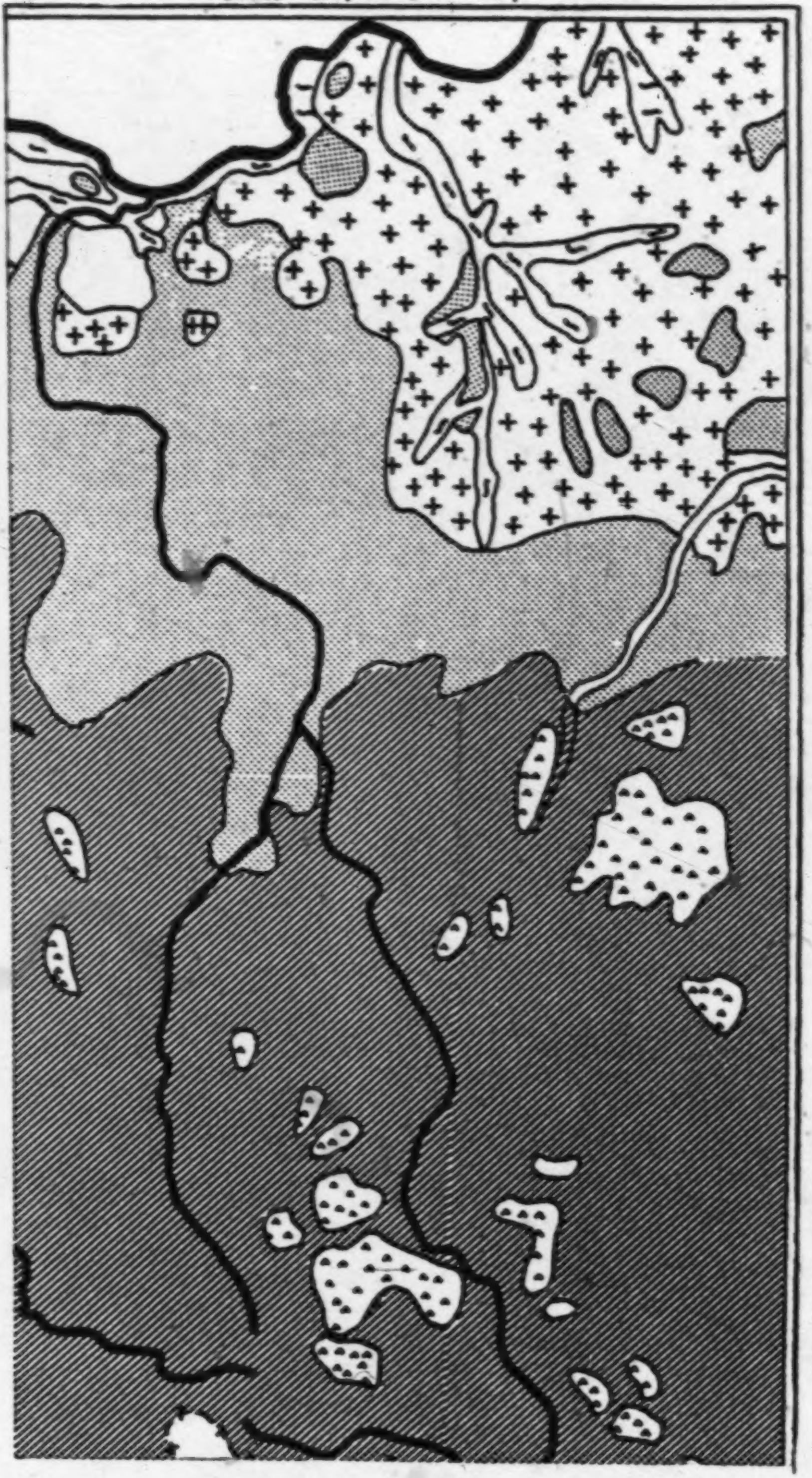

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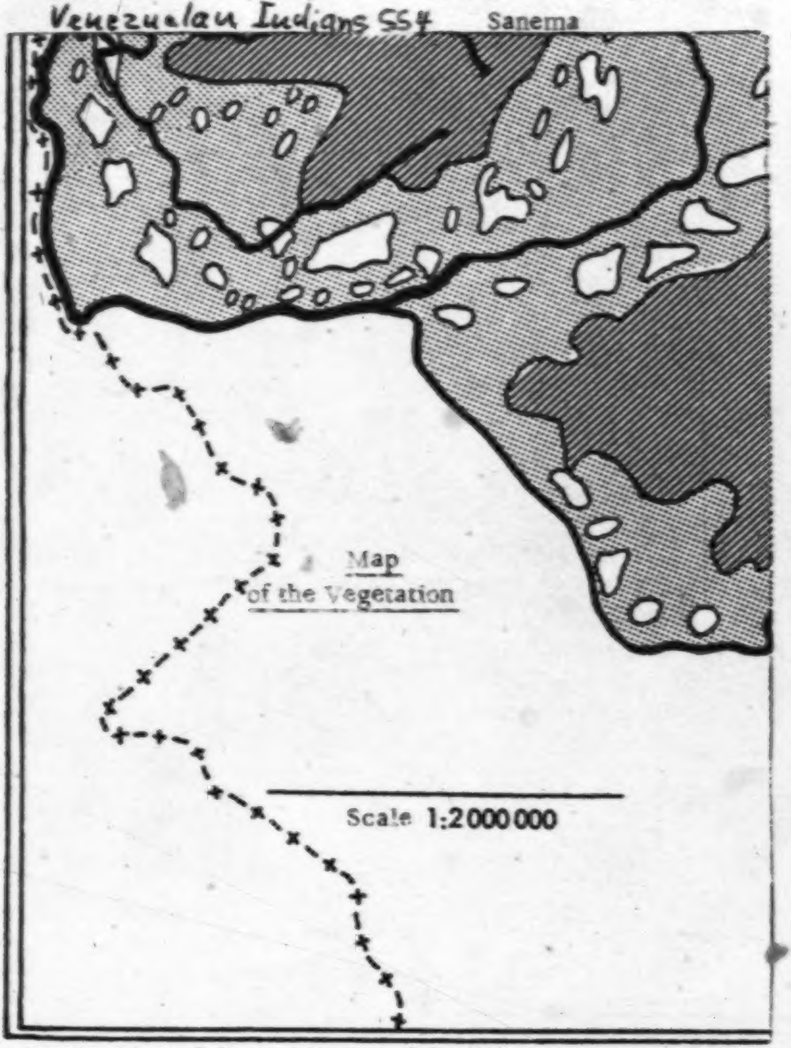

Map 6. Map of the vegetation of the Orinoco-Ventuari region (according to Hueck, 1960).

+ + + + +	Chaparrals
▨	Hygrophilous and mesophilous forests in the region of Guayanesa, locally interrupted by savannas
▒	Mesophilous and hygrophilous deciduous forests, in part evergreen, of Guayana, in the low regions
☐	Gramineous steppes of the upper Orinoco

4: Wilbert--18 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Venezuelan Indians SS4 Sanema

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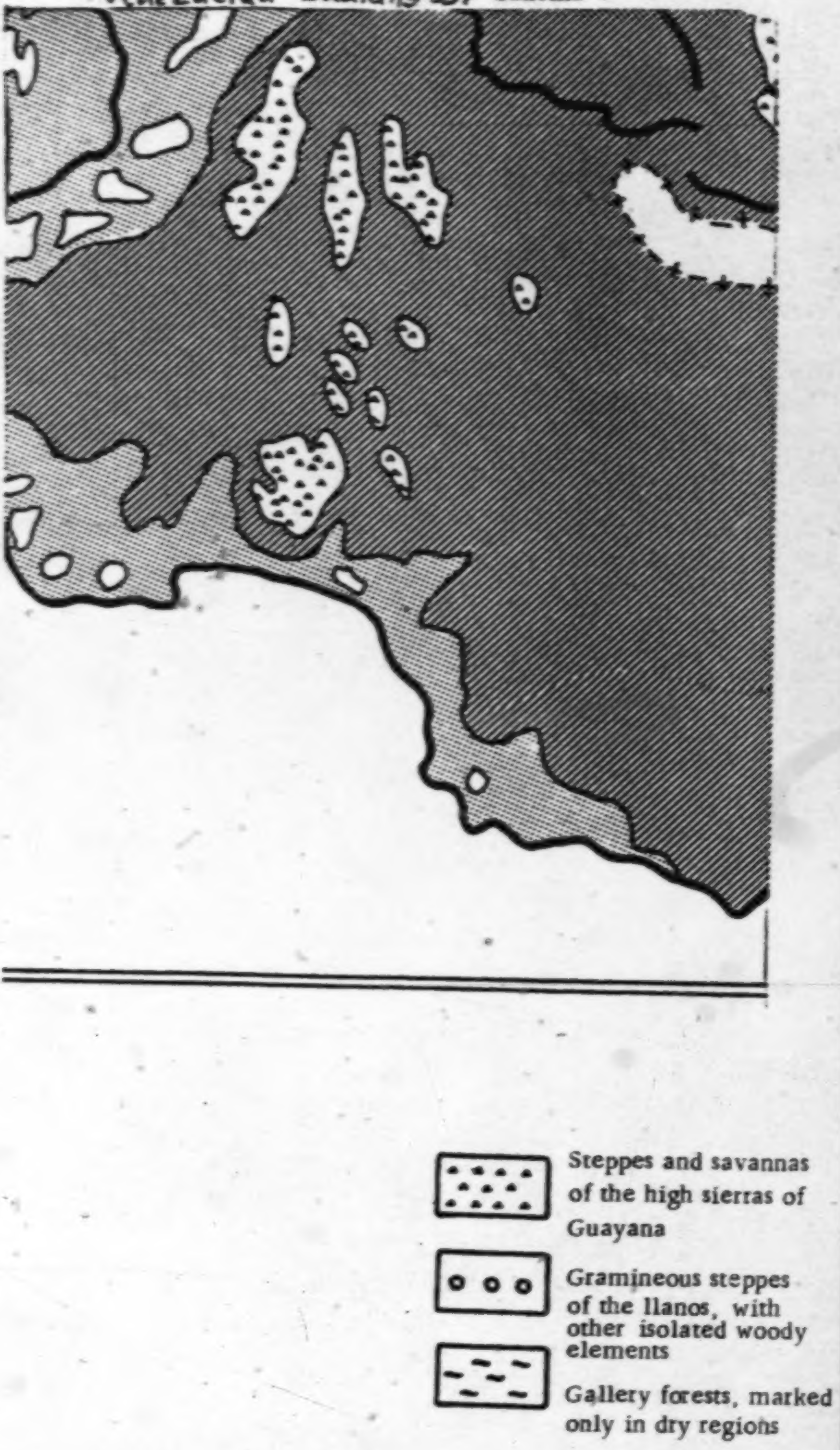

▨ Steppes and savannas of the high sierras of Guayana
○ Gramineous steppes of the llanos, with other isolated woody elements
▭ Gallery forests, marked only in dry regions

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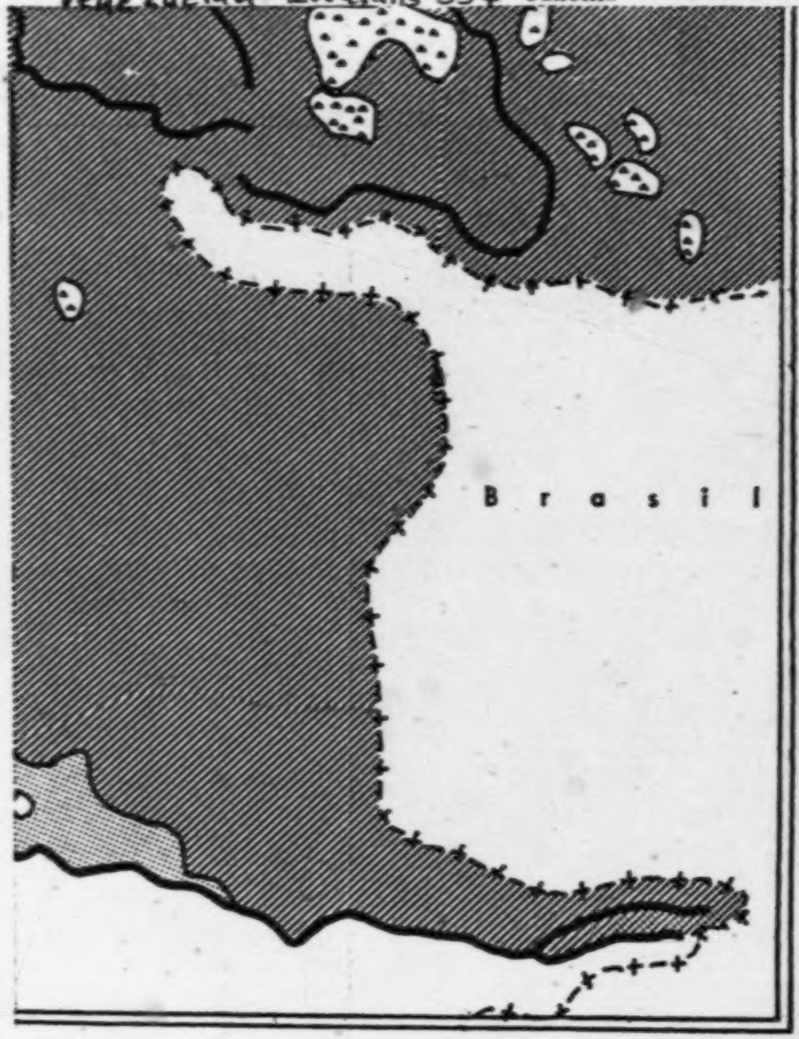

∴ Steppes and savannas of the high sierras of Guayana

○ ○ Gramineous steppes of the llanos, with other isolated woody elements

-- Gallery forests, marked only in the dry regions

/177/

The Sanemá

101 The word Sanemá appears here as the designation for a subtribe of the Yanoama. The Sanemá were called Guaharibo and were sometimes confused also with the Shirishana /Shiriana/.

The terms Guaharibo and Shirishana (written with abusive orthographic freedom) lack proper sense when applied to the Sanemá, and they must not, as has heretofore happened, be applied to this tribe or to the peripheral bands, who accepted them as designations used by the Whites (Guaharibo) and by the Makiritare (Shirishana).

The name Guaharibo, like Macú and Tapuya, is a vague and collective designation which includes many primitive tribes and which, therefore, has little classificatory value and will not stand up to scientific and impartial criticism.

The term Shirishana, for its part, seems to us to be a nickname rather than a generic denomination, since it means "araguato monkey" and is used by the Caribe in a contemptuous tone when they refer to the Sanemá, whom they consider to be subhuman beings born from the dust of their shadows. The name also lends itself easily to confusion with the Crichaná of the Ianaperi River and of Caribe affiliation.

For the above-mentioned reasons we prefer the term Sanemá, which means "people," to that of Guaharibo, which is equivalent to "savage," or to Shirishana, "araguato monkey." This preference has more scientific aspects and more human respect.
[114] It would seem that the term Yanoama was introduced into ethnographic literature by Zerries (1956a, p. 187) and was accepted, quite rightly, by Schuster (1958, p. 115) and Becher (1960, p. 6) as a generic name for the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, Samatari, Surara, and Pakidai.

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101 In the present treatise we shall consider the Yanoama as a tribe, not so much in the politico-social sense, as in the linguistic-cultural sense, since the Yanoama, in general, represent a specific culture made up /178/ /map appears here/ /179/ of the various peculiar subcultures of the diverse subtribes which live in a coherent territory, which speak closely related languages, and possess essentially similar economic and sociological forms.

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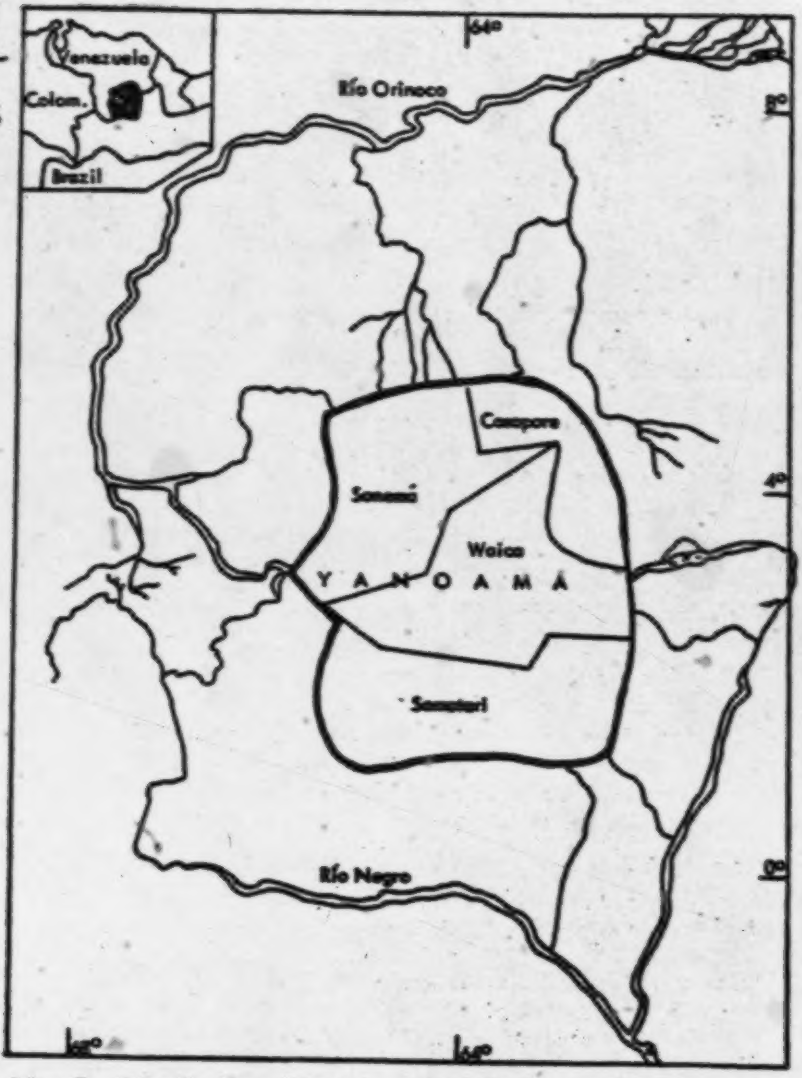
Venezuela
Colom.
Brazil
64°
Río Orinoco
8°
Casapare
Sanemá
4°
Waica
Y A N O A M A
Samatari
Río Negro
0°
68°
64°

Map 7. Distribution of the Yanoama Indians (preliminary).

/179 cont./

619 [621] [596] Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local groups which form a band of extended families and provide the peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

[184] [194] From what has been published up to the present regarding the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 128 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to
[797] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Bari SS 13
Makiritare SS 20

Sanema
Warao SS 18
Saliva SS 15

/179 cont./

Y 131 127 128 We have knowledge of the distribution of the Sanemá of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura from our own expedition's personnel, while we took the data on the Casapare from the excellent cartographic work of Montoya (1958), who visited the zone over a period of several months.

Y [101] /180/ The name Casapare is employed by the Sanemá to designate their neighbors to the east. Koch-Grünberg (1923) had already mentioned the group of the Upper Uraricapará, a tributary of the Uraricuera and the one that occupied the right shore of the Uraricuera River, facing the Marutani range, on the
M 131 127 Motomotó River. The broken lines indicate, approximately, the territory occupied by each Yanoama subtribe. The location of the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma comes from the map published by Civrieux (1959), and that of the other settlements of that tribe was verified by the personnel of our expedition.

Y 131 161 According to this map, the territory inhabited at the present time by the Yanoama is located between 0° 30' – 5° N and 62° – 65° 30' W. If we grant that the total Yanoama population reaches the figure of 20,000 individuals spread out over an area of 150,000 square kilometers, we recognize as the density index of the population that of one person per 7.5 square kilometers. There are authors who, being overly generous, raise the Yanoama population to 30,000 and even 50,000 inhabitants, but this number seems exaggerated to us.

B S W 161 177 It is interesting to point out that the highest figures for the native population correspond to the primitive tribes of hunters and fishermen or to those who had an incipient or rudimentary agriculture, such as: the Barí (Motilones, Mapé), 2,000; the Piaroa, 4,000; and the Warao, 8,000.

They are also the tribes which have had least contact with the white man. There is an interesting and instructive relation between the demographic datum of a native population and the number of years that it has had contact with Whites: the higher the latter, the lower the former.

Sanema
Warao SS18
Saliya SS15
Bari SS13

B /180 cont./
S
W
648 The Barí suffered greatly from the Yupa, the Piaroa and
Warao from the Caribe, but these sufferings were minimal com-
177 pared to the oppression to which other tribes were subjected by
Y the Whites. The Yanoama have been attacked for hundreds of
177 years by the Caribe, who surrounded their territory with a semi-
648 circle along the north; the Yanoama endured something similar
from the Arawak, who surrounded them in a semicircle along
the south. But all in all, the White has not been very successful so
far in approaching this primitive population and his destructive
influence has not affected their ancestral customs. The Caribe
and Arawak have declined gradually in vigor and numbers; now
we are witnesses of the triumph of the Yanoama over their
neighbors of a more refined culture, for not only did they defend
their territory, but were successful in spreading to the north and
west.

Y The strongest and most efficaceous ally of the Yanoama
[131] has been the Cordillera de Parima, together with the dense
[137] tropical selva of the Territorio Amazonas. In the /181/ fateful
period of persecution they have always found a safe refuge in the
Y protecting selva. Nevertheless, as of relatively recent times,
167 the different Yanoama subtribes are beginning to realize that the
648 space beyond the conventional boundaries of their tribal territory
131 is sparsely populated, almost deserted. The number of their
traditional enemies has diminished considerably, and the invasions
of their territory have had practically no consequences. In this
manner they have gained almost 100 kilometers to the north of
the Sierra de Pacarima, where the Casapare now live on the Upper
Paragua, and the northern group of the Sanemá on the headwaters
of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura rivers.

Y The center of distribution of the Casapare is located to the
131 south of the Sierra Pacarima in the basin of the Rio Branco. We
Y know this Yanoama subtribe only through a few sporadic super-
[619] ficial contacts, and the people, as well as their territory, remain
practically unknown. For this reason we consider the name
Y Casapare with which we designated all the Yanoama in the zone of
[101] study as strictly preliminary, and we would not be surprised if
we had to change it in the future for a more exact and adequate
name.

/181 cont./

101 name. We included the Casapare among the Yanoama on the basis of information from the Sanemá of the Erebato, who assured us that they speak a language similar to theirs.

101
127 The limited scientific data at our disposal and which refer to the Casapare all come from the northern group, and their interpretation is relatively difficult because of the fact that on the Uraricuera River the Waica and Sanemá zones of distribution come together with that of the Casapare, and the chroniclers were unable to distinguish with precision and clarity the representatives of the different subtribes.

101 The ethnic differentiation which appeared very early in the respective biographical sources was that of the Shirishana and Guaharibo (with their multiple orthographic variations). At the present time there is not the slightest doubt that we are dealing with Yanoama Indians, but we do not think that it is proper to identify the Guaharibo and Shirishana as a single group with two distinct names. It is our opinion, on the contrary, that each name designates a more or less distinct group of the Yanoama, and that "Shirishana" refers to the Casapare, and "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá. The Sanemá of the Territorio Amazonas of Venezuela have been known from the beginning by the name Guaharibo. The confusion of the two terms originates precisely in the northern zone under discussion, where the two subtribes live in close geographic proximity. Thus, we believe that among the Yanoama of the Paragua there are Sanemá in the west or on the headwaters of the Paragua itself, while the Casapare /182/ occupy the territory toward the east and are established principally along the length and on the banks of the Paramichi.

This close contact between the representatives of the two subtribes is recent, as we shall point out later on, and it is almost certain that today there is some genetic and cultural fusion between the two groups. To the south of the Sierra Pacarima they also have some relations, but more sporadically, since they occupy two distinct zones: the Casapare (Shirishana) on the Uraricuera to the north of Maraca Island; and the Sanemá (Guaharibo) and the Waica, the territory farther to the southwest.

/182 cont./

Y 101 [127] With regard to the Casapare of the Uraricuera River, we have the data supplied us by Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-319), and a comparison of his "Shirishana" vocabulary with the "Shirishana" vocabulary of Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108) gives us the impression that both are very much alike, but differ greatly from the Sanemá family (cf. glottochronological sketch see p. 49 /). In spite of the fact that they now occupy adjacent geographic zones, we prefer to make a clear distinction in the literature between the "Shirishana" (Casapare) and "Guaharibo" (Sanemá), considering them as two different subtribes of the Yanoama tribe. According to their linguistic separation, they represent, in fact, the two extreme poles of maximum distance (18).

18. Note that this does not mean that we also continue with the old nomenclature, but rather that the name "Shirishana" of the literature corresponds to the Casapare subtribe, and the name "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá subtribe, of this work.

Y 648 P M 648 361 From their center of distribution in Brazil, the Casapare harassed their neighbors, the Pemón and the Makiritare, with continuous raiding from the time that the latter arrived at the northern slope of the Serranía. It seems that the Taurepán (Pemón) were never able to establish a pueblo farther west than the eastern point of Maraca Island on the Uraricuera and that the Makiritare maintained their advanced posts at the cost of great losses and sacrifices, until finally they were forced to abandon them in the face of the constant threat and the imminent danger of losing their lives.

Y M 648 361 The Makiritare began to lose ground at least some 120 years ago, when the Yanoama killed a number of Makiritare Indians (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), and it would seem that at the present time Tarakuñiña on the upper Yararejuri is the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía.

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Y
648 /182 cont./
the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía. The Yanoama, however, by their own strength, were able to contain the advance of the Caribe in the northeastern part of their territory.

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Y The massacre of the Indians to which we have made reference above
114 was pointed out by Schomburgk (1841), who visited
648 this land around 1839, /183/ and his data constitute the first report regarding the Yanoama of the north. Schomburgk had crossed the Sierra Pacarima when, on the way to the sources of the Orinoco, he found the Makiritare in the grip of great panic. The Yanoama, possibly a group of Waica, had killed a number of Makiritare who had been on their way to the Yanoama rancherias in order to establish commercial relations with them. A short time after that horrible massacre, the same Yanoama
M attacked a Makiritare rancheria with the intent of exterminating
[261] all its inhabitants. This event marked the date of the withdrawal
[67] of all the Makiritare south of this zone. Even the Caribe companions who were with Schomburgk accompanied them on their flight, abandoning him with his baggage a short distance from the sources of the Orinoco. It is easy to understand Schomburgk's emotional state, bordering on desperation, on finding himself so close to his goal without being able to reach it.

Y On the upper Uraricuera, in the region of the Sierra
114 Marutani, Schomburgk came upon a conuco /cultivated area/ of the "Kirishanas," whom he described as nomad Indians who depended primarily on hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild fruits for their basic sustenance; some, however, cultivated small plantings of bitter yuca and peppers (Schomburgk, 1841, p. 417). Seventy-two years after this first report, Koch-Grünberg, in December of 1911, once again established brief communication with the Yanoama of this zone, and his information constituted, until a few years ago, the most important material on the Yanoama in general. Koch-Grünberg met representatives of two
Y distinct groups. The first group (Casapare), which he found at the
[131] Purumamé Falls, lived at that time on the upper Uraricaparâ,
[169] although it had only recently arrived in that region from the
Y Uraricuera, above the island of Maraca. That was the place where
[721] they took by surprise all the Indians whom they robbed and killed.

Casapare
Pemon SS16

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Y /183 cont./

648 At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of
439 the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that
P about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one
[131] captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European
Y utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of culti-
241 vating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-
174 Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of
Caribe origin.

Y Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish
114 the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same
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174 author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost
all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or
European origin.

Y
114 The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg
four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with
Y whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the
[648] Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the
[177] Aurí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements,
Y such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this
[197] group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by
his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with
slight dialectal differences.

Y The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent
167 date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua,
648 as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and
allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It
Y seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the
[131] Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the
P Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of
131 the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have
[167] vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their
P nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern
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797 part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and
161 the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

Casapare
Auake 555
Pemon 55 16

P
177 /184 cont./
799 expansionists, and their number at present is quite small; they
161 number 1,800 individuals and show a density of 1:16.5 square kilometers.

Y The Mayoncon and Arecuna, along the north, do not make
177 an effective barrier to Yanoama expansion. Here, however they
648 are liable to clash with the already advanced civilization of these
regions where they will meet the Indian, the Negro, and the
White with individual cultures irreducible by the Paleo-Indian
culture of the Yanoama.

Y
101 Among the tribes which have been absorbed by the Yanoama
619 are the Kaliana, Auakí, etc., about whose identification there
is some confusion in the literature.

Y
A Kaliana, however, is the name which the Casapare give to
101 the Sapé. The latter were identified as Kaliana by a native companion of Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p.
227), while Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 103) identify
them with the name "Shirianá" (Casapare) as Karianapuik. In
1956 the Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) were visited by Montoya, who
classifies them as related to the "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168).
"It is an isolated group," says Montoya, "which lives on the
Antabarí River and upper Pao; in the zones of the upper Paragua
A and Pauré-Murán River.

241 /185/ "They devote themselves to agriculture, but produce
433 only as much as they consume or a little more for barter with the
439 Shirianna who are travelers and supply them with salt and other
items which they lack.

A
501 "Some of them have learned to make curiaras in such a
rudimentary manner as to make the Moñongón Indians, the
masters of this art, smile. But they do make very fragile 'shells,'
which allow them to travel to hunting and fishing zones, carrying
A light loads.

512 "They marry frequently with the Shirianna groups and even
A with the Arekuna. They appear to be destined to disappear as
101 a differentiated ethnic group or to be totally absorbed by the
Shirianna, more numerous and nearer than the Arekuna"
(Montoya, ibid.).

Auake 555

/185 cont./

101 As can be judged from these indications regarding the
[181] character of Sapé culture, this is a little-developed culture,
[114] and Montoya is right in differentiating them from the Caribe.
But, judging from the Sapé vocabulary which accompanies the
work of Armellada-Matallana and another by Koch-Grünberg
(1928, pp. 308-317), it is not possible to identify the Sapé group
as "related to the Shirianna."

101 The Auaké, furthermore, are identical with the Arutani,
114 who were visited by Armellada and Matallana during their ex-
[361] pedition to the Paragua (1942, pp. 75, 86). They found them
living in two rancherias; one near Maihia Falls on the Paragua
River and across from the Momurán, a tributary of the same,
on the right bank, with one house and 20 inhabitants. The com-
parison of the Auaké vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp.
308-313) with the Arutani vocabulary leaves no doubt but that the
two are of the same tongue.

114 Both groups, the Sapé (Kaliana) as well as the Arutani
105 (Auaké), seem to have a very poorly developed culture, probably
181 like that of the Yanoama. Montoya describes Sapé culture with
typically marginal traits, and Armellada and Matallana (1942,
p. 75) say of the Arutani that "these Indians are the poorest that
[362] we have seen on the whole trip; they live in an absolutely
[501] miserable rancho and the little boats that they use are made of
bejucos."

175 The Portuguese commission on boundaries (1787) mentions this
[31] tribe as Aoaquis, inhabitants of the sources of the Canamé, where
[C1]
[622] they lived in large numbers under the command of three captains
(Coudreau, 1887:2, p. 393). In 1838 Robert Schomburgk found
some Oewaku on the middle Uraricuera; he describes them as a
nomad tribe that lived on the headwaters of the Uraricapará and
on the source of the Paragua. In 1882 the Auaké (Arutani) /186/
were visited for the first and last time in their own home by a
Comisión de Límits, which found a small group on the upper
[342] Uraricapará. They had a large, round house, provided with a
[712] palisaded wall. The latter served them as protection against
the attacks of their neighbors (Relatorio, 1884, p. 189; Grupe and
Thode, 1890, p. 253). In 1911 Koch-Grunberg (1923, p. 12;

Casapare
Cariban Indians SR7
Auake SS5

A /186 cont./
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cf. idem, 1922, p. 226) was visited on the Uramamy Falls by a small group of Auaké (Arutani), who pointed out to the explorer that their land was on the source of the Paragua, where
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[167]
they had a communal house. But even by that time the Auaké (Arutani) had left their southern haunts to the Casapare and had
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[619]
migrated to the north. But a large number merged with the Casapare, and it is very likely that the Arutani of the upper Paragua represent the last vestiges of the Auaké.

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It is useful to stress the fact that both tribes, the Sapé and the Arutani, belong among the primitive groups of South America, and that their idioms constitute independent languages. They have very probably served as buffers between the Caribe and the Yanoama, and while the former pushed them from the Paragua to the south, the latter absorbed them or displaced them
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648
toward the north. The Caribe have had the same function in more recent times, when they were destroyed between the frontiers of white civilization and that of the Yanoama, and today only a few vestiges of these tribes remain.

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Regarding the idioms of the Sapé (Kaliana) and Arutani (Auaké), it is interesting to point out that Loukotka (1935) found Chibcha vestiges in the Auaké and the Kaliana. If we consider that the Yanoama are related to the Warao and that both have a relatively low cultural level, it is possible to believe in a substratum of marginal tribes with a Chibcha linguistic affiliation, to which the present Warao, Sapé, Arutani, and Yanoama tribes may possibly belong. We shall go into this interesting topic in the section which describes some of the linguistic aspects of the Yanoama /see pp. 38 ff./.

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The most recent information that we have regarding the Casapare was submitted by the previously mentioned Capuchin fathers, Armellada and Matallana (1942), by Gheerbrandt (1955), and by Montoya (1958).

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The expedition of the Capuchin fathers was undertaken in 1940 with the intention of completing a missionary report on the river and its native population. They went out in search of men, and their conclusion that the Paraguá, apart from being a dangerous river and difficult to navigate, did not have large

Avake SS5

Y /186 cont./
114 indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87)
797 they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

162 Y 162 167 114 /187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history
Y [361] of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent
A [167] [648] date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Y 101 Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

Y 491 241 According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

/187 cont./

105 The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned
181 author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of
241 all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..."
245 They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and
266 plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular,
342 and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their
411 uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land,
491 very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the
494 Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says
361 (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, build-
241 ing very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agri-
484 culture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from
439 the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although
411 in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using
142 the route of the Shoropae River, Uraricuera and Parima, to Boavista
146 They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

114 The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was pub-
101 lished by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt
114 met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names.
648 Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extent data offer no certainty in this regard.

Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

600 /188 cont./
M but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard. It is inter-
114 esting that Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 348) is of the opinion that the
167 Makiritare had left the Uraricuera some twenty years previously.

Y The Guadema seem to be different from the Casapare,
101 according to what one can deduce from the above-mentioned
book; probably it is a matter of a local Sanemá or Waica group.

The center of distribution of the Sanemá is the basin of the Padamo River, a tributary of the upper Orinoco. Their territory is bounded on the south by Waica territory, on the west by the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma, on the north by the Makiritare of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, and on the east by the little known territory of the Casapare.

Y
101 If we judge from the present situation of the distribution
177 of the Yanoama, it is quite probable that the first Yanoama
with whom the Whites had contact on their trips along the upper Orinoco were the Sanemá, who appear in historical sources as the Guaharibo. One finds the Guaharibo frequently mentioned together with the Waica, but it is interesting that from the very first reports authors made a distinction between Waica and Guaharibo.

Y
175 /189/ Caulin (1958, pp. 305-306), writing in 1779, places
101 the Guariba on the Maraca and its tributaries. According to him,
they are white in color like the Spaniards and are the same "uaribas" already mentioned by the "Expedición de Solano." Humboldt also speaks of Guaicas and of Guaharibos, having met representatives of them in the Esmeralda Mission. Spruce (1908: 1, pp. 396-398), who met an old Guaharibo man on his trip on the Casiquiare, is the first one to leave us the fullest and most authentic information regarding the Yanoama of the upper Orinoco. According to this author, the Guaharibo call themselves Kudé-Kubui, but it is difficult today to decide whether these are Guaharibo or Waica. We have a like opinion regarding the Guaharibo of Chaffanjon (1889). It is possible that the Sanemá may have occupied zones farther toward the Casiquiare and the Cunucunuma, but the Arawak and Caribe of this zone occupied these places before the arrival of the Whites, and the boundaries were established by the tribes interested in them.

Makiritare SS20

Y /189 cont./

174 101 The expansion of the Sanemá to the north, that is, from the Padamo to the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, is relatively recent, but, to judge from the data given us by glottochronology, the separation of the various groups of the subtribe corresponds to 600-1,700 years. We established contact with three northern groups of the Sanemá: the Nabudub of the upper Ventuari, the Taclaudub of the upper Caura, and the Pubmatari of the Canaracuni. They apparently represent Sanemá groups which are quite well established, and the internal distance of this linguistic family is, in a way, surprising.

Y 101 184 The Sanemá of the Padamo and of the upper Orinoco are practically unknown to science, and it is expected that the cultural difference between them and their brothers who live north of 4° and in close contact with the Makiritare is relatively pronounced.

Y The geographic separation of the Sanemá into a southern
101 group and another northern one is recent and is due to the fact
648 that in 1947 Captain Cardona had to make a landing field on
167 the Canaracuni (personal communication), and, since there were
no Indians in the zone to help him in his venture, he went to
Brazil and brought the first Sanemá to this region of Venezuela.
Y This date marks the beginning of the infiltration of the Yanoama
167 element on a larger scale into the land of the Makiritare, their
Y M neighbors on the northwest, with whom they have lived in deep
648 enmity from remote times. While the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma
still do not tolerate large groups of Yanoama in their territory,
those of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura live in close contact
Y with large groups of the Sanemá subtribe. This was the way in
M [177] which Makiritare culture of the tropical selva type penetrated
to that essentially /190/ preagricultural tribe composed of hunters
Y and gatherers with a very rudimentary culture. The Sanemá re-
M 648 ceived extremely bad treatment at the hands of the Makiritare,
comparable to that received by a slave at the hands of his master,
for which reason toward the year 1950 the Sanemá revolted against
M the Makiritare and declared a war without quarter against them.
[411] It was then that the different Makiritare subtribes united to re-
pulse the Sanemá, whom they conquered in various encounters,
thanks to their fire-arms.

Y M 648

/190 cont./

thanks to their firearms. It seems that, as a result of this incident, the Makiritare and the northern group of the Sanemá lived together more peaceably, and today it is rare to find a Makiritare settlement in that zone of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, without a few Sanemá groups in the immediate vicinity.

Y M 177 648

The clash of the two cultures began a process of progressive acculturation, and the hunters and gatherers of wild plants adopted a superior culture: from then on they would be agriculturalists. Furthermore, the genetic constitution of the two tribes underwent profound changes, and that of the minority group will perhaps be absorbed by the Sanemá in a relatively short period of time.

This process of acculturation and genetic absorption is interesting, for one is in the habit of thinking that the Caribe have always been the victorious and dominant invaders. But in this concrete case the process seems to be working in the opposite direction. M [628] Y [502] The advance of the Sanemá, who adopted, among other things, the art of navigation, has brought about the isolation of the two large Makiritare groups: the Yecuana (Decuana) of the Ventuari and Caura on the one hand, and the Cunuhana of the Cunucunuma on the other. M Y 648 Prior to this, these two groups used to visit each other frequently, their members were related to each other, and strong family ties existed between them. [484] At the present time the Makiritare youths know only partially the rivers and routes of those regions traveled so many times by their fathers, and they travel in small groups, overcome with deep anguish every time that they have to cross the zone occupied by the Sanemá. What was observed on the trip on the upper Ventuari fully confirmed this opinion for us, for there is not the least doubt but that the Makiritare captain, who, together with our five traveling companions, had fought eight years previously against the Sanemá, felt ill at ease on leaving the Makiritare rancherias behind, and his nervousness suddenly increased when one day we came upon a Sanemá raft on the bank of the river. They could not hide their nervousness when inland, in the selva, we came across a conuco and seven houses recently vacated. They always

Makiritare SS 20

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Y /190 cont./
648 scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried,
but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of
their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior
to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought
refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell
M
Y lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

582 A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare
563 on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors
177 of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the
648 Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that
M tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing; there
[186] are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men
(cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably
carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two
tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will
Y dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will
167 infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt
563 but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, ar-
177 rived at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up resi-
648 dence to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe
and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good
will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

Y
101 The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present
Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries
above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank
of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned,
they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper
Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schu[illegible]er (1958, p. 114)
is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not
Y bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

177 We have already mentioned the first contacts which the
797 Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort
by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the
Waica world went without contact with science until the New
Y Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica
114 through the missionary James Paul Barker. Some ethnographic
data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco
(1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica
were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the
German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a
monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as
114 Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher,
1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the
experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--
June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have con-
128 sidered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people
of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity
of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this
classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of
Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 The linguistic material which the author of the present
192 work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá
consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper
Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former
vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries
(Wilbert, 1961b).

128 In order to classify this material within the different
192 Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others
174 belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we
197 established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calcu-
lating the minimum distances existing between them, according
to the glottochronological method.

192 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabu-
197 laries were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the
174 Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956,
126 pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73
127 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to
what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is
most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

4: Wilbert
Y
M
102
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361

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Makiritare SS20

p. [illegible]0	p. 41
p. 42	p. 43

Chart of Positions of Tribal Distribution Map (foldout). /facing p. 39/

/192 cont./

127 The Casapare vocabulary was taken from Koch-Grünberg
192 (1928, pp. 302-308). It has 303 entries in all, 65 of which corre-
197 sponds to the basic vocabulary. There is another Casapare vo-
174 cabulary compiled by Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108), which has a total of 232 entries, 54 words of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. From the expedition's itinerary we know that the last-mentioned authors visited the Shirianá of the Paramichí River (tributary of the headwaters of the Paragua), a zone considered in the present work as an extension of the Casapare territory of Brazil.

Koch-Grünberg obtained his vocabulary among the Schirianá of the Uraricapará (1923, p. 288), and a comparison of the two vocabularies seems to indicate a closer affinity between them than that which exists with any other Yanoama language. The glottochronological calculation is based on Koch-Grünberg's material.

The Waica vocabulary comes from Dr. Zerries, who generously furnished us a basic one of 96 words of the Waica of the upper Orinoco.

Recently another vocabulary of the same language was published by /map appears here/ /193/ Anduze (1958, pp. 258-267), which contains 369 entries. The present calculation is based on the material provided by Zerries.

We give the "Samatari" vocabulary this name provisionally, for more precisely it is the idiom of the Surara and Pakidai of the Demini River in Brazil. The material was given to us by Dr. Becher in the form of a basic vocabulary which contains 85 words. Between the Surara and Pakidai there exist only slight dialectal differences. A vocabulary of 40 words of the same idiom was published in the monograph on these Indians by Becher (1960, pp. 136-137). Another vocabulary of the southern Yanoama was published by Seitz (1960, p. 306) and contains 40 entries. The few words which permit making a semantic comparison with other similar languages indicate that the Araraibo-Xamatari of Seitz is closer to the Surara, Pakidai, Waica, and Karimé than to the Sanemá and Casapare.

[text continues on p. 44]

4: Wilbert--40 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Sanama

Makiritare SS20

M
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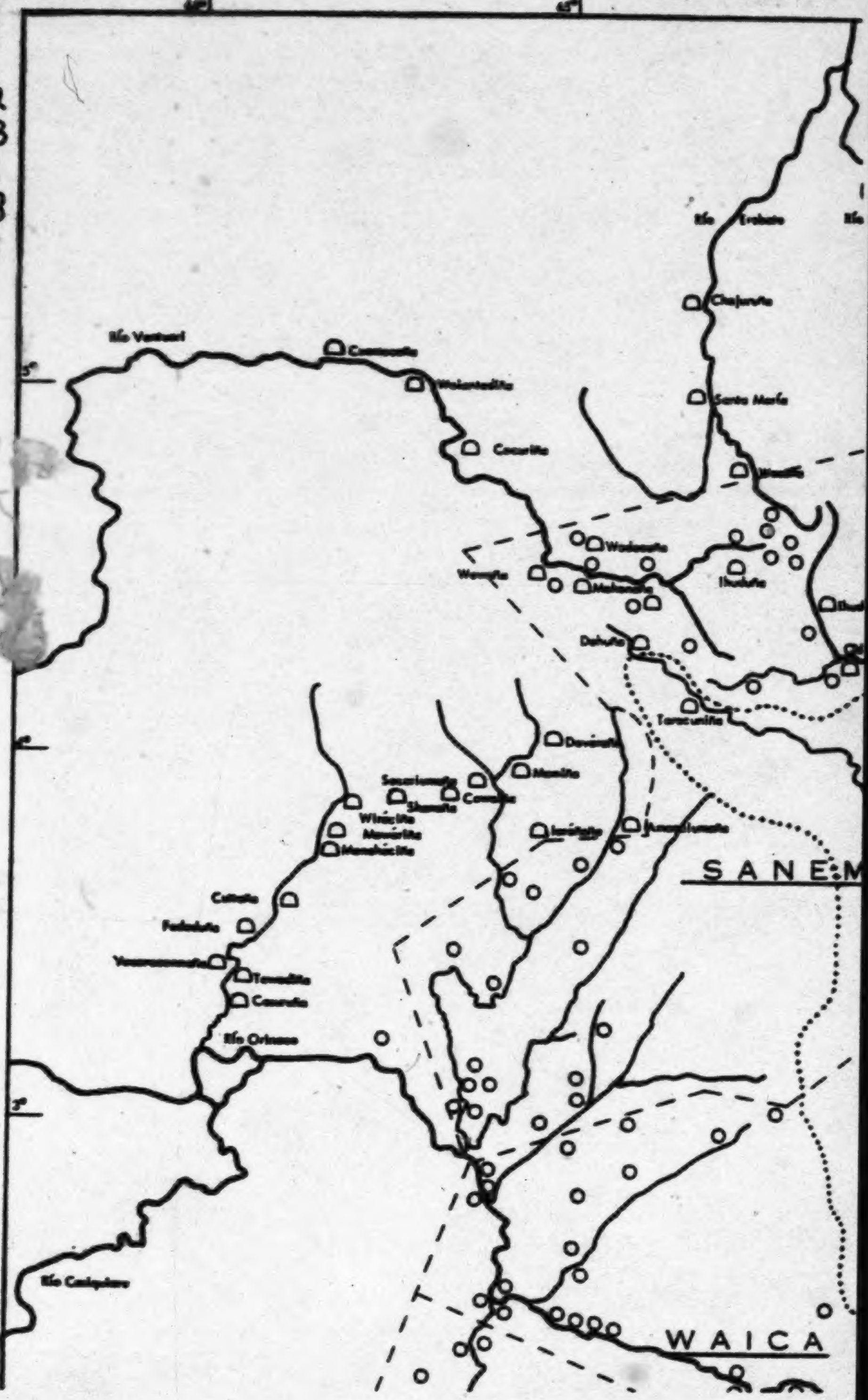
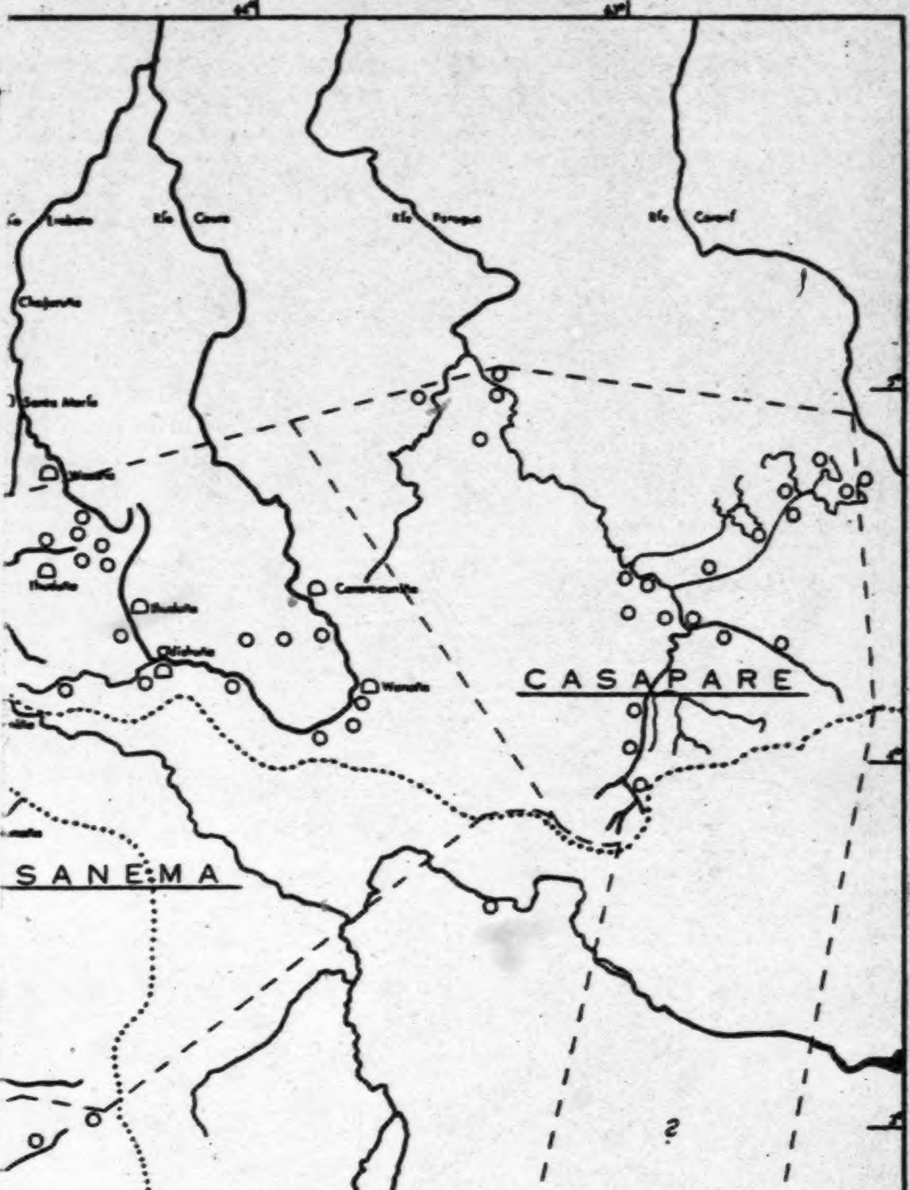
361


Río Ventuari
Río Erebato
Chajuraña
Santa María
Taracuniña
Río Orinoco
Río Casiquiare
5°
4°
3°
SANEM
WAICA

4: Wilbert--41 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Makiritare SS20 Sanema

M
Y
102
103
131
133
161


ío Erebato
Río Caura
Río Paragua
Río Caroní
Chajuraña
Santa María
CASAPARE
SANEMA
?
AICA

4: Wilbert--42 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Makiritare SS 20 Sanema

M
Y
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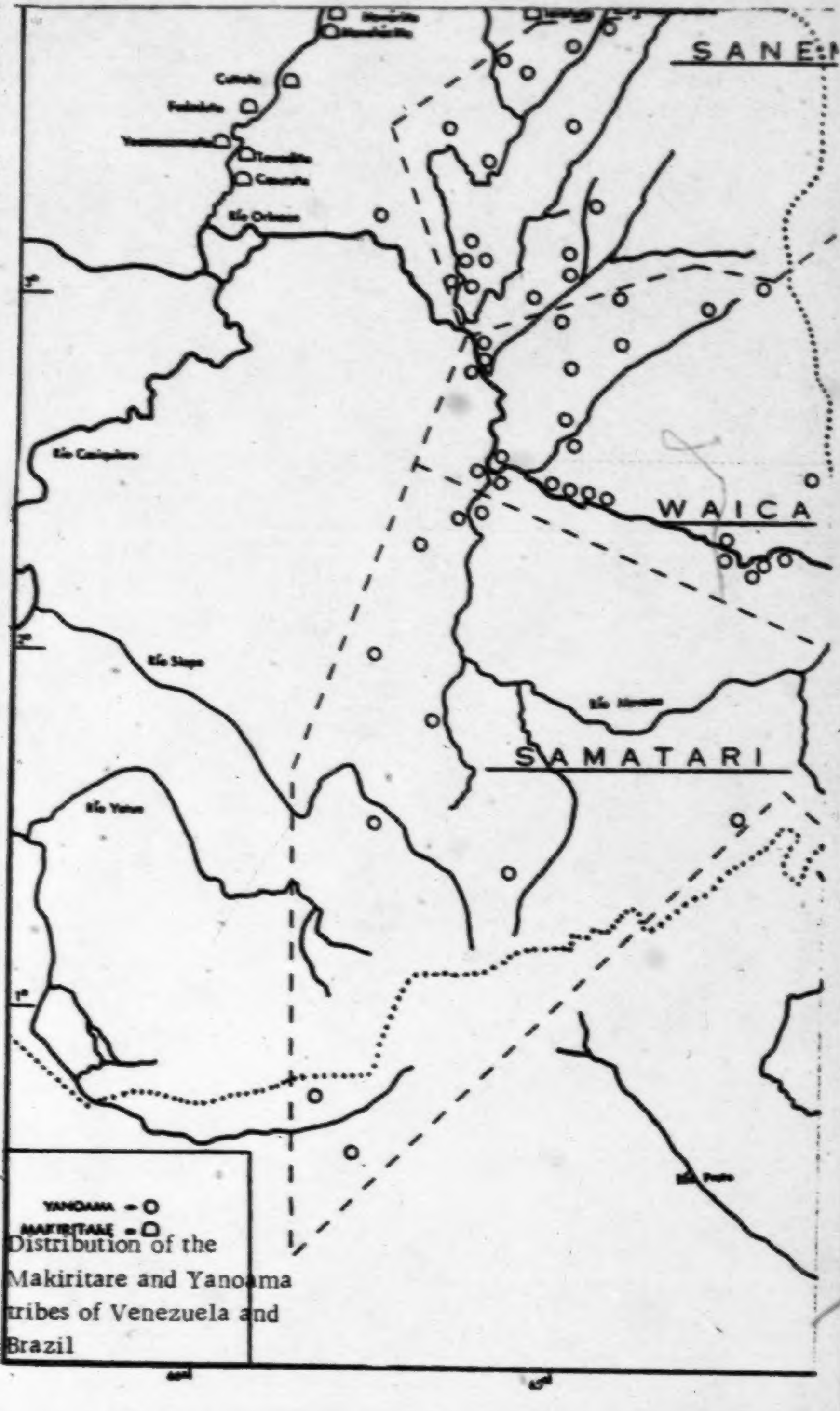
103
131
133
361


SANE
Río Orinoco
WAICA
Río Siapa
SAMATARI
YANOAMA = ○
MAKIRITARE = ⌓

Distribution of the Makiritare and Yanoama tribes of Venezuela and Brazil

4: Wilbert--43 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Sanema

Makiritare SS20

M
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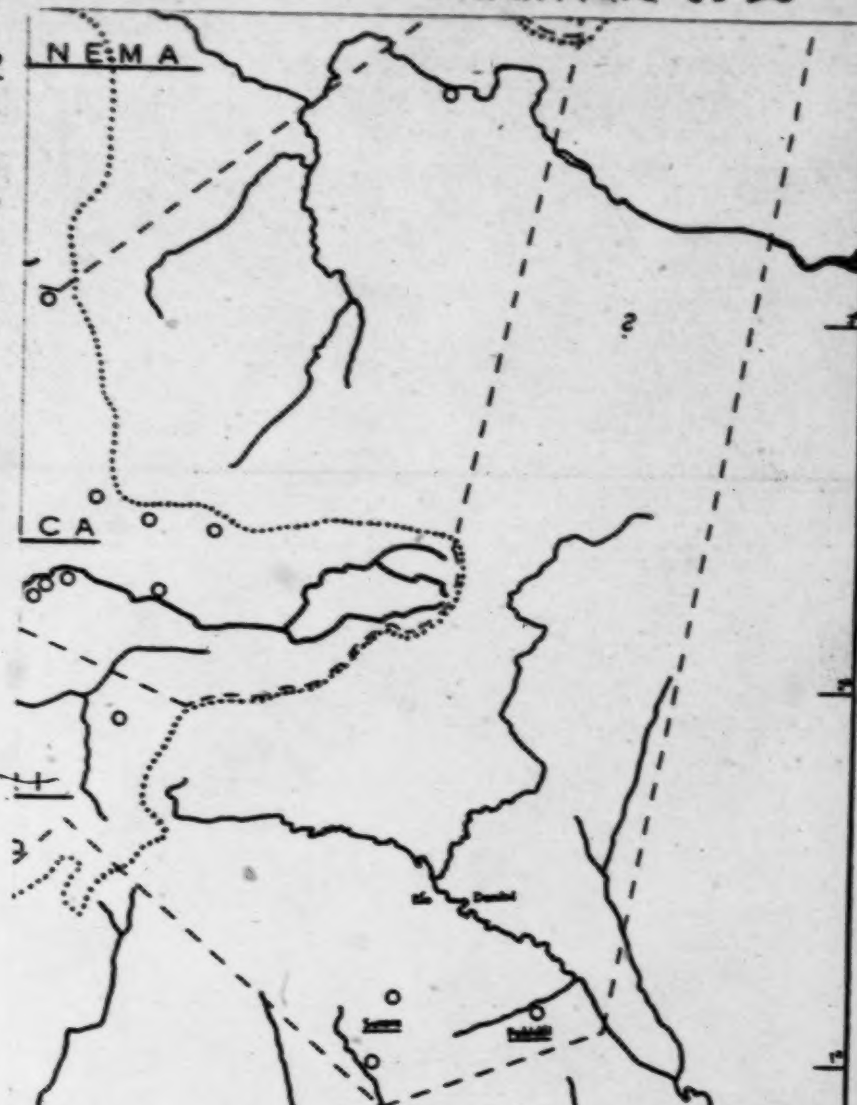
102
103
131
133
361



/193 cont./

174 We were not able to obtain the vocabulary of the Karimé
197 published by Salathé (1932, pp. 314-316). Dall'Igna Rodrigues
192] (1960, pp. 134-138) places it between the Waica and the
127] Casapare (Schirianá of Koch-Grünberg).

According to the results of the lexico-statistical calculation (cf. p. 47), it can be said that the idioms compared form a linguistic conglomerate whose internal divergences date from 6-35 minimal centuries (mc). By their temporal distribution they constitute two more or less distinct groups: a) a Sanemá family with Nabudub, Sanemá, and Pubmatari, with an internal divergence of 6-17 mc., and b) a Casapare family with Samatari, Waica, and Casapare and with an internal divergence of 8-21 mc. The extreme languages are Nabudub (of the Sanemá) and Casapare. The distance of the Waica from the three Sanemá idioms corresponds to 17 mc., which is the same as the maximum internal distance of the Sanemá family, and the Nabudub have the same difficulty in understanding a Pubmatari or a Waica; they should, however, understand each other, although with some difficulty. The Waica has greater ties with the Samatari, with whom he can communicate orally without any great difficulty.

Other classifications of the Yanoama idioms were made by Rivet (1924, p. 678), Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9), Mason (1950, p. 254), Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140), McQuown (1955), Swadesh (1959), and Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137).

Koch-Grünberg (1913, pp. 455-458) had established by 1913 the independence of the Yanoama idiom (Shiriana) from the Caribe and added that the idiom apparently represented an isolated language. Rivet (1924, p. 678) and W. Schmidt (1926, p. 211) shared the opinion of Koch-Grünberg regarding the affiliation and independence of the "Shirishana" family. /194/ The classification of the "Shirishana Family" by Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140) includes the following idioms:

Shirishana Family

[10] a) Shirishana (or Guaharibo), who live dispersed in small groups in the interior, along the tributaries of the

/194 cont./

174 Uraricuera and on the southern slopes of the Sierra
197 de Parima;
101 b) Karime (or Shauári), on the Catemany River in the same region;

c) Waika, who live on the upper Ocamo and Mocajahy, right tributaries of the upper Orinoco;

d) Pusárakáu, an unknown wild tribe which lives in the Sierra Parima.

174 As we mentioned above, we are inclined to differentiate
197 between Shirishana (Casapare) and Guaharibo (Sanemá), which
would seem to be linguistically justified by the distance of 23-
[127] 35 mc between them. Rivet bases his opinion, it would seem, on Koch-Grünberg's material (1928), which we have also used in our comparison. The Pusárakáu idiom (d), which also appears in Loukotka's classification (1944, pp. 8-9), is a completely unknown idiom and therefore does not figure in Mason's classification (1950, p. 254), which presented the following Shirishaná grouping:

SHIRISHANÁ
[101] A.--Waharibo (Guaharibo)
  1. Shirianá
    a) Waicá (Guaica, Uaica)
B.--Carimé (Karimé)

174 According to Mason, Shirianá and the less important Carimé
197 are the principal idioms of the family. This observation is based
114 upon Koch-Grünberg's material (1928, Shiriana), which was
identified in our comparison as Casapare, and, as the greater separation of the Yanoama stock corresponds to that language, we must admit the value of Mason's opinion. Carimé does not figure in our classification.

Furthermore, Mason is of the opinion that the Waica idiom is, possibly, a dialect of Shirianá (Casapare), but, according to the glottochronological calculation, he does not seem to be on firm ground. The distance between the two idioms is 21 mc, which is much greater than a dialectal difference of 5-7 mc. Waica appears on the graph as closer to Sanemá (17-18mc). The opinion of /195/ many researchers that Shirianá (Casapare) and Waica are descended from the Guaharibo (Sanemá) seems to have some justification.

/195 cont./

174 McQuown (1955) classified the "Chirianan" family in the
197 following way:
114 a) Guahariban with Chirianan, Uaica and ? Guaharibo; b) Carime; c) Pusaracau.

A more recent classification of the Yanoama family was made by Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137). By their internal distances the author just mentioned brought together the various Yanoama idioms in the following manner: Surara and Pakidai (Samatari), Waika, Karimé, Shirianá (Casapare), Warema (Sanemá, Pubmatari) (19).

19. The names in parenthesis were added by the present author.

Dall'Igna Rodrigues arrived at this result on the basis of a comparison of 40 words of the idioms mentioned and explains that the idioms of his list were arranged according to the relative distance between each one of them with respect to Surara and Pakidai. He also emphasizes the provisional nature of his result, somewhat different from those presented by Mason and McQuown.

It is interesting, however, to observe that the classification of Dall'Igna Rodrigues coincides in its details with ours. On adding the lexico-statistical data, the classification would read as follows:
Surará-Pakidai (Samatari) 8 mc > Waica; 21mc > Shirishaná (Casapare); 21-25 mc > Warema (Sanemá).

Two American linguists, Greenberg and Swadesh, recently broke w[illegible]h the tradition established by Rivet, W. Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown, according to which the Yanoama had no close affiliation with any other South American linguistic family.

Greenberg (1956) classifies the Shirianá as a distinct group in the "Chibchan proper" subfamily of the "Macro Chibchan" family. The Tunebo also belong to the same category.

Swadesh (1959, p. 20) established a Macro-Siriana, with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc) and

/195 cont./

114 Sirisana (21 mc). According to what Dr. Swadesh said to me
174 personally, he also planned to include the Warao in Macro-
197 Siriana, which would magnify the internal divergence of the group to 72 mc of a microphylum. I took some interest in this suggestion by Swadesh and tried to compare Warao with Yanoama, particularly with the more extensive vocabulary which I collected among the Sanemá.

I made two comparisons: a) that of the basic vocabularies, and b) that of all the possible pairs between the Sanemá vocabulary and the Warao /196/ dictionary by Barral (1957). The results of these comparisons can be expressed in the following manner: More than 20% of all the pairs compared seem to be related, a sufficiently high percentage to stimulate a more thorough linguistic study. The result of the preliminary glottochronological calculation gave a separation between the two idioms of 45 mc corresponding to 26% of common retentions.

I have the impression that that mathematical result tends to diminish and not to become greater as one goes further into his study. We also observed certain relationships between the Yanoama and the Ye /Ge/ of Brazil. But these are of a different nature and more distant than the cases considered between the Warao and Sanemá.

As we have already mentioned, there are certain indications that the Tunebo, Warao, Yanoama, and Ye idioms seem to have a common root in Chibcha and are linguistically more closely related among themselves than with the majority of South American idioms.

/196 cont. /

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Idioms	Pairs	Cognates	%	mc.
1. SAMATARI				
2. Casapare	62	35	56	21
3. Sanemá	81	42	52	22
4. Pubmatari	65	33	51	25
5. Nabudub	79	42	53	21
6. Waica	80	62	78	8
2. CASAPARE				
3. Sanemá	53	24	45	29
4. Pubmatari	57	30	53	23
5. Nabudub	61	23	38	35
6. Waica	54	30	56	21
3. SANEMA (Erebato)				
4. Pubmatari	69	54	78	9
5. Nabudub	82	69	84	6
6. Waica	89	53	60	17
4. PUBMATARI (Canaracuni)				
5. Nabudub	65	40	65	17
6. Waica	71	43	61	18
5. NABUDUB (Ventuari)				
6. Waica	86	51	59	17

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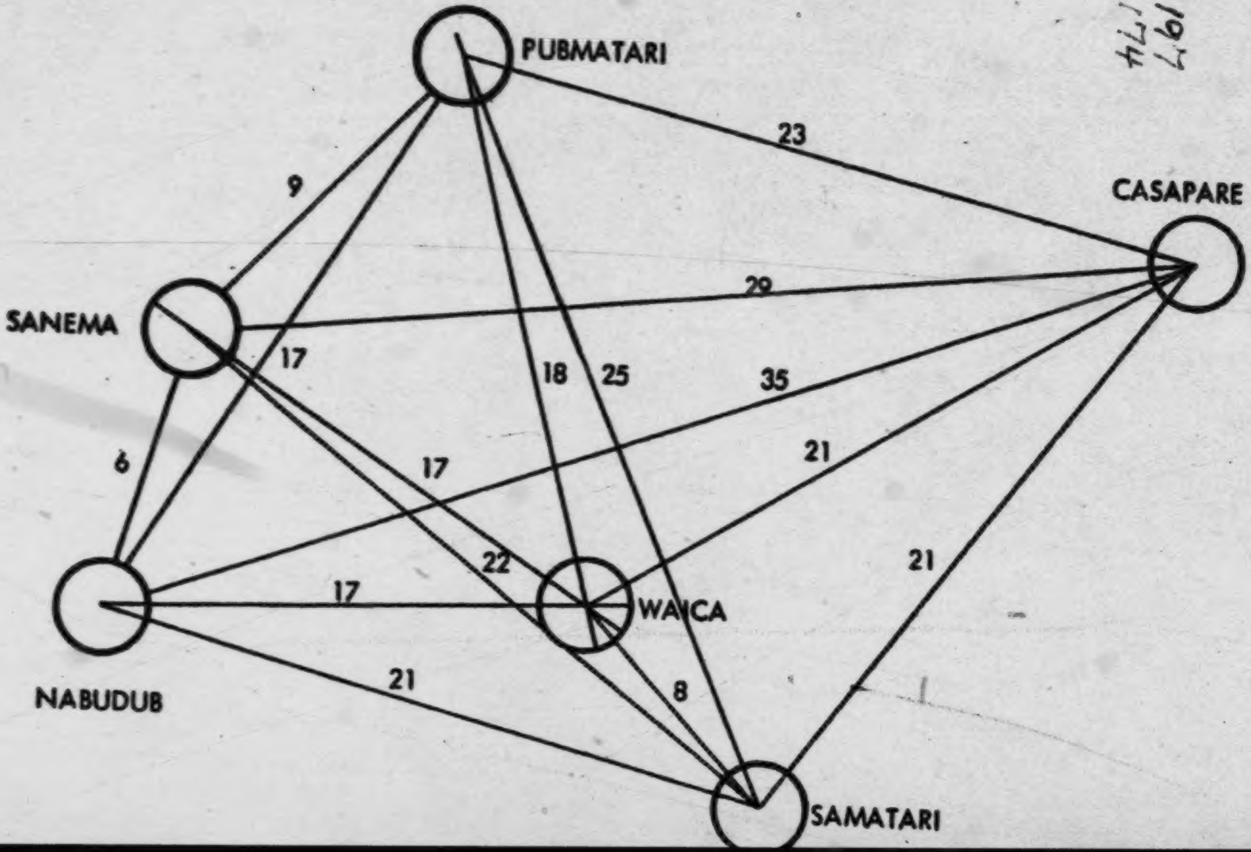
PUBMATARI
CASAPARE
SANEMA
NABUDUB
WAICA
SAMATARI

4: Wilbert--50 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Chibcha SC11
Sanema
Warao SS18
Bari SS13

/198/ Cariban Ind. SR7

Y 114 126 143 At the beginning of the year 1961 I had an opportunity, together with Dr. Layrisse, to visit the Waica of the upper Orinoco, where we went with the intention of taking blood samples of that group. We obtained 140 individual samples, which, in all probability, are representative for the Yanoama in general. We shall now report an interesting genetic discovery.

Y 143 The Waica showed a complete absence of the gene Diego (Di^a). As we reported before (Layrisse, Wilbert, 1960), the antigen Diego is an exclusively Mongoloid genetic marker, but, in spite of the fact that it occurs solely in populations called "Mongoloid," it does not appear in all of them. There are Diego-positive Mongoloids and Diego-negative Mongoloids. Gradual differences of frequency between one Mongoloid population and another have also been observed. Up to the present the scale of frequency varies between 0 and 50%.

WE B [143] The Waica are one of the Diego-negative Mongoloid populations, and the tribes of South America in the same category are: the Tunebo, Barí (Motilones Bravos), and Warao. Other groups with very low incidence could be included in this category also, since the low frequency they showed for the gene can be better explained by the crossing of a population originally negative with another one highly positive. A representative of the latter group is the tribe of the Yaruro.

Y CI 143 197 During the six years of research on the Diego gene we made an observation which we consider to be of importance, which is: the various frequency groups of the Diego antigen correspond to different linguistic affinities. The most carefully studied case is that of the Caribe. We examined more than ten tribes and subtribes and they all show an average of 28% of the Di^a gene. In this case the Caribe linguistic affinity is indicatory for a positive incidence of the Di^a gene. It is understood, of course, that there is no causal relationship between these two facts and that its observation is not to be interpreted in the sense that we are trying to make a chromosome responsible for a given cultural trait. The two factors are essentially different, but their parallel appearance is an interesting fact.

Warao SS18

Chibcha SC11
Bari SS13

C
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W
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/198 cont./

A linguistic connection has been observed between the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama, a relationship which appears to be closer than that which usually exists among all the indigenous languages of America, and, therefore, it is interesting that that group of tribes should occupy a common position and at the same time an extreme one on the distribution scale of the Di^a gene. In this case it is not a matter /199/ of a gradual difference, such as that of 12% Arawak and 28% Caribe. In this case it is a matter of an important difference between "positive" and "negative." The tribes mentioned are diametrically opposed to the Páez, Ica, and other tribes with frequencies of 45%, and this means that the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama are genetically distinct from their Arawak and Caribe neighbors and from the Chibcha of Colombia (Páez, Ica), but identical among themselves (speaking always of a single gene).

C
B
W
Y
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Another observation, equally interesting, is that in general terms the cultural pattern of the tribes marked with the negative Diego is relatively uniform: they are essentially gatherers and not producers with regard to obtaining food, but their social structure and their religious concepts also seem to have many common traits which at the same time are very different from those of other native tribes of Venezuela and South America. We cannot at the present time go into this interesting point in greater detail. To sum up, we shall say that the Waica (Yanoama) are genetically similar to the Warao, Barí, and Tunebo. As all these tribes show very primitive cultural traits, it is our opinion that the absence of the Di^a gene is a characteristic of the ancient populations of South America, since it is generally accepted that the tribes called Marginal belong to an early invasion of native immigration. It is noteworthy that all the tribes speak idioms with Chibcha characteristics.

C
B
W
Y
[197]

Y
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In the foregoing discussion we had to include the several Yanoama subtribes in order to try to locate the Sanemá within a larger ethnogeographic framework. We shall now concentrate more specifically on the Sanemá, due to the study of this subtribe which we made in the field. Many of the data gathered could be

/199 cont./

128 attributed to the other subtribes also, but we do not believe it proper to make an indiscriminate generalization, particularly if we bear in mind that the subtribes seem to be carriers of different subcultures.

101 The Sanemá live on the upper Ventuari, the Erebato, and the Caura. It is therefore a matter of the Sanemadub, Nabadub, and Pubmatari and their various local groups already mentioned in the introduction. We can, to begin with, divide these Sanemá into two groups: those who live in close association with the Makiritare, and those who, although living in the land of the Makiritare, have not been able to establish permanent relationships with them. For which reason it is difficult to record in a definitive and absolute fashion precise demographic data, and we view those which we publish here with certain reservations.

/200/

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A. Sanemá of the upper Caura (Pubmatari)

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Canaracuni	300	In the border zone there are several nomadic bands with specific names, who accept the term "Sanemá" as a generic name of theirs. They frequently change their stopping places between Brazil and Venezuela.
2. Wanaña	200	
3. Yemekuni	300	
4. Caura source	100	
5. Nomadic bands	500	
Total	1,400 estimated individuals	

162

B. Sanemá of the upper Erebato (Sanemadub)

1. Kariana-sodi	40
2. Wasaña	62
3. Udehuduña	125
4. Kuyuhiña	143
Total	370 individuals counted 1960

/200 cont./

162 C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Weweña	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña
2. Wadekuña	80	frequently move between
3. Mahanaña	50	the Ventuari and the
4. Ihuduña	200	Erebato.
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

161 According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

342 We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

342 On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts
361 moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff
[501] and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá.
[137] At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit.
[262] Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that
the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which
in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found
a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five
342 triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of
construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tepee form with a separation of two meters form a
[824] regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and
these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

/201 cont./

342 The two windscreens had two posts stuck superficially into the ground at a distance of two meters apart. Contiguous to the post there was a smaller stake tied to it with a bejuco. The roof of this screen was covered with interlaced branches and roofed with platanillo leaves and supported with a slight inclination against two posts. The roof projects from the posts some [352] 40 centimeters and touches the ground at its lower edge. In these houses the Sanemá hang their hammocks of bejuco or majagua. In some ranchos we found vestiges of fire.

177 342 The houses of Makiritare type (rectangular or oblong) are small-scale imitations and have only one room. The roofs, made of palm leaves, are of two rectangular slopes and are raised on four or six posts. The edges of the roof are straight or rounded. The walls consist of bark or juxtaposed sticks. They have an average dimension of four meters long by two meters wide and approximately three high. Each house has one or two 353 [177] quite narrow doors. Within the house (of the Makiritare type) the greatest disorder reigns: from the roof and from the walls hang baskets, gourds, weapons, leather bags, tobacco, palm fruit, hammocks /chinchorros/ of bejuco, majagua, and cotton. On the floor there are hearths, firewood, cooking utensils, guapas with spindle and cotton, yuca graters, dogs, and children, all in confusion without order or arrangement. It is clear that they are not used to living under a roof, and the house is a place for storing things rather than a habitation.

105 422 484 The technology of the Sanemá is very little-developed, and precisely for this reason one can classify the Sanemá (and the Yanoama in general) as representatives of the most backward peoples of America and of the whole world. It would seem that the ideal of these seminomadic Indians is: omnia mea mecum porto -- everything that is mine I carry with me! and, apart from their weapons, a few implements, and a basket, it is unusual [352] for them to carry anything else on their travels. They do not even transport their hammocks /202/ of bejuco or majagua from one camp to another, but rather make new ones each time they need them.

/202 cont./

572 They ma[illegible]ire by the rotation method, and the sticks
which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the
quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situ-
ated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of
lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will
not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherias,
and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves
from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which
they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments,
294 guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/
352 and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made
285 and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, fire-
[323] wood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method
that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, com-
323 mon to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá
make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very
415 primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

412 A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is
[237] the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the
men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small
stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-
fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament,
or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear
lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount
the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg,
provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove
is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports
[593] that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound
[727] their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they
also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been
captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group.
The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they
free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The
knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife
[184] has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

/202 cont./

412 (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl.
[184] 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife,
[171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a
[177] peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and
411 arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of
[824] macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. Th[illegible] string is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

/203 cont./
291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
302 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hĩkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the hĩkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the hĩkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherias fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much
less important than hunting.

222 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables,
241 which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the after-
noon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the
game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places
[223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds
when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among
the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com-
[789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without
[826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great
danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts
them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for
777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid
826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He
[237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the
muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm.
[841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman
during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or
also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game
hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not
262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game
[777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks
for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain
places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited
[554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on
which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example,
obtaining a second wife.

/205 cont./

224 It is also dangerous to lose an arrow when one is hunting.
411 That is why they only shoot the arrow when, should they miss
the target, they can easily retrieve it. In spite of these precau-
tions, the arrow is sometimes lost or remains hanging from an
[782] inaccessible tree. Then the man, in order not to lose his aim,
puts it under the protection of Omao, to whom he speaks, saying:
"Omáuawan ipa ʃɨlaka toldɨ́apala!" which means: "Omao,
watch over my arrow!"

224 To lose one's aim or luck in hunting may arise from a
777 technical reason or a supernatural cause. The former is due to a
789 weakening of the body brought about by sickness or other causes
826 which influence sight or the strength of the arm. If it is due
to this latter cause, the hunter knows the remedy. He goes to the
forest and searches for a tree with hard, heavy wood; he
cuts a piece and sets fire to it and collects the ashes, which he
applies to the cuts inflicted on his arm. If he bears the pain
without touching the hurt arm with the other hand and does not
shout, his muscles will once again recover their lost strength and
the hunter will recover his luck and good aim.

224 If the hunter returns without any game, it may be because
776 Omao did not favor him, and this is the supernatural cause of
777 his failure.

224 According to our informants from the Erebato, a good
782 hunter speaks frequently with Omao, for without his protection
[777] he will not be lucky. For this reason he says to him: "Omao
awayɨ́ ipa ʃálawa hadu kapálama!" which is translated as:
"Omao, draw my game out into the open!"

Worse than being unlucky is to lose one's life in a hunting
accident, and in order to implore the protection of the other
world, the hunter prays, "Omao sátoria palái!" that is to say:
"Omao, protect me!"

224 /206/ Of course, all these precautions are useless if the
825 hunter has not learned the art of hunting. He must know how
the various animals live and how to identify their tracks. If
these latter should be fresh, he orders his dog to follow the track
of the game; the success of a Sanemá hunter depends in great

/206 cont./

224 825 part on his dog. The hunter must also know a great variety of calls for attracting the animals and birds and, above all, know which arrow to shoot in order to kill the animal which may come in answer to his call.

224 775 All this and a great deal more about which we are ignorant must be learned by the Sanemá hunter in order to have the benefit of his knowledge not only on earth but also in the world of Omao after his death. An expert hunter continues to be one in "heaven" and there he will have the opportunity of recompensing Omao for the benevolence showed him during his earthly life.

224 The Sanemá hunt with bow and arrows. Usually each man carries with him, in addition to his bow, five arrows and a quiver with various types of points.

[415 372] The quiver, made of bamboo, is carried, hanging by means of a bejuco, from the neck, on the chest, or across the back. In most cases they carry, tied to the same quiver, some small sticks with which to kindle fire. In the forest they pull out with extraordinary speed the point best suited to kill the animal which comes within range, and it is surprising with what dexterity and speed they can shoot one or several arrows.

If there are several hunters surrounding a pack of peccaries or a group of monkeys, the booty belongs to the one who kills it.

It seems that the Sanemá of the Erebato also use a kind of trap (Schwippgalgenfalle), particularly to capture the lapa /paca/ or deer (20).

> 20. It would seem that this trap reflects a cultural borrowing among the Sanemá, since the Surará, Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 77), and Waica (Zerries, 1956c, p. 151) do not have it.

223 In order to catch birds, the hunter climbs up into a very high tree and hides there behind some thick branches. He attracts the birds with whistles, and, when they are near, he shoots them; a companion waits at the foot of the tree for the prey's fall, in

/206 cont./

223 order to pick it up. As a result of his expertness in hunting, he
knows the trees in which the birds gather to spend the night.
The man, using palm leaves and bejucos, carefully prepares a
blind with the sure hope that, by means of this ambush, the
booty will be plentiful.

224 Hunting in groups is common among the Sanemá, and they
262 do this particularly to surround a group of monkeys, peccaries,
[237] or in order to kill a feline. /207/ They do not eat the meat of
jaguars, but keep the canine teeth in the roof of the house.
[482] They tie up the peccaries that they get, front feet to the back
ones, load them on their backs, and carry them home. The
meat of the peccary is greatly esteemed, and the whole rancheria
gathers to eat the animal, with the exception of the young unmarried men, who, by order of the capitan, must not taste the
meat so that the hunters who have killed the animals will not die.
They may, however, eat other kinds of meat and the food which
they most like.

There are some animals that the Sanemá are prohibited from
hunting: thus, they do not eat snakes, they kill the cayman, but
[766] do not sample its flesh. The Sanemá of the Erebato told us that
they cremate caymans as they do men, for, in fact, as far as
[784] they are concerned, caymans were previously men. It is taboo to
kill a morrocoy or a turtle. They were people before and Omao
262 does not permit them to be killed. There are other animals which
223 they kill and eat only under certain conditions, among them the
eagle (21).

21. The Surará and Pakidai kill the eagle, but throw away its flesh. They say that it transmits sickness (Becher, 1960, p. 77). (Cf. the section on "death" in the present study /see pp. 93-94 /.)

223 If a hunter comes upon an eagle, he believes that he is facing
225 a speciman of a species of animal which was previously a person.
262 He may be facing a friend or an enemy. Therefore, before shooting, he asks the animal if it is a friend or an enemy, and only if

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a
double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear.
The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of
this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily"
on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the
hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on
those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the
above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war" /see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not
seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have
adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is
the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit,
[527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao
palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three
months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from
the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48),
Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion
in greater detail, according to their observation of it among
the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

/208 cont./

241 Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact
[177] with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on
increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very
rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products
are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/,
and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker,
P24 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the
241 magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish
great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sablí had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

241 Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá
178 subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social
[628] system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and
disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indisdriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricul-
[648] tural group. That was the motive which caused the Makiritare
to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted
the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

231 The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs
are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted
[092] them recently. They have still not found a specific name for this
animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word pólawan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

Nabudub

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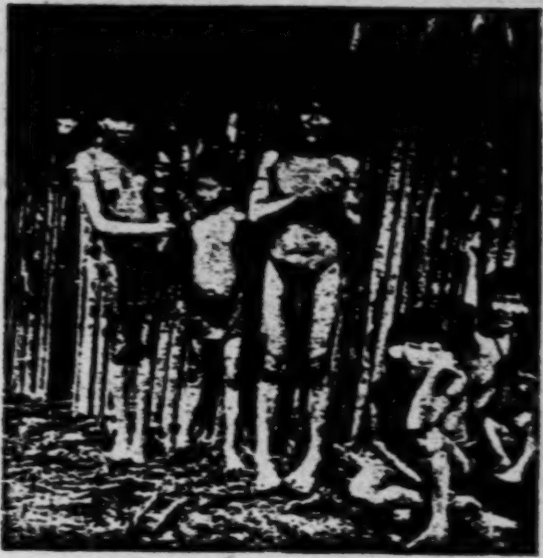

Nabudub Indians in front of their house, an imitation of a Makiritare house.

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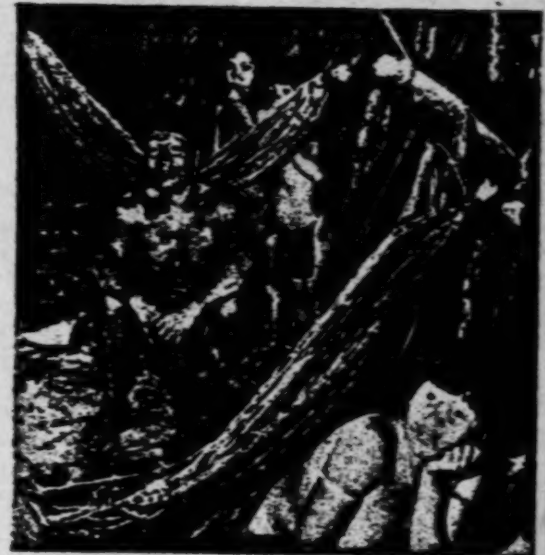
A Nabudub (Sanemá) nuclear family in front of its house.
The hammocks are of vegetal fiber.



Nabudub

4: Wilbert--65 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 ~~Yanoama~~ SQ18 Sanema

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Nabudub (Sanemá) women and children.

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Nabudub couple seated on hammocks of cotton made by the woman.

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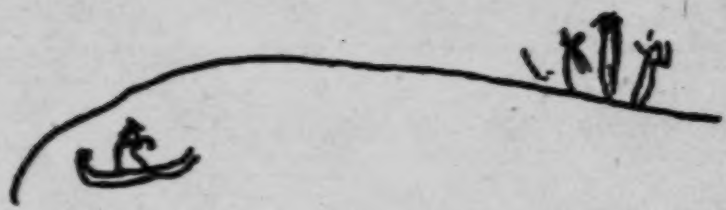
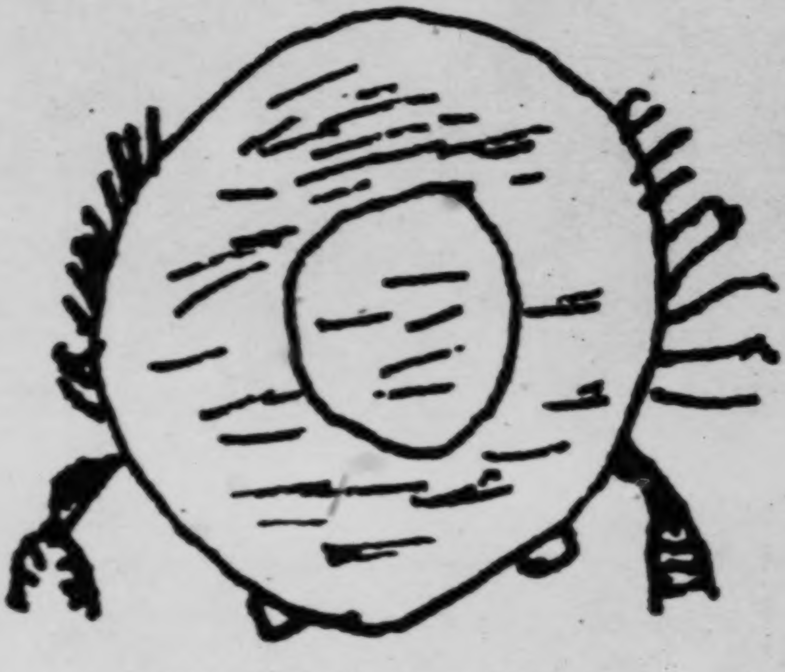


Man in his curiara arriving home. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.



Crab. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

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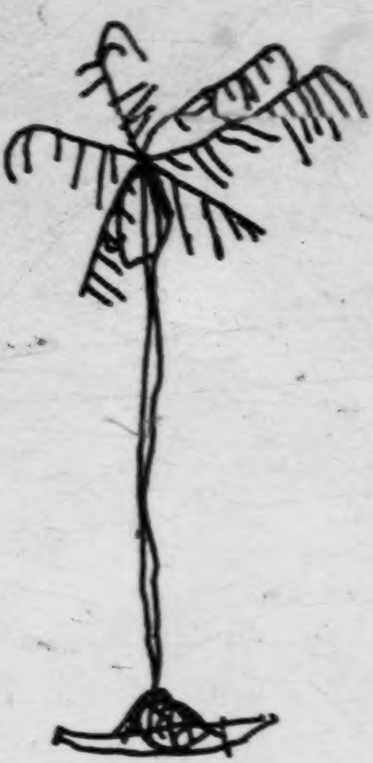
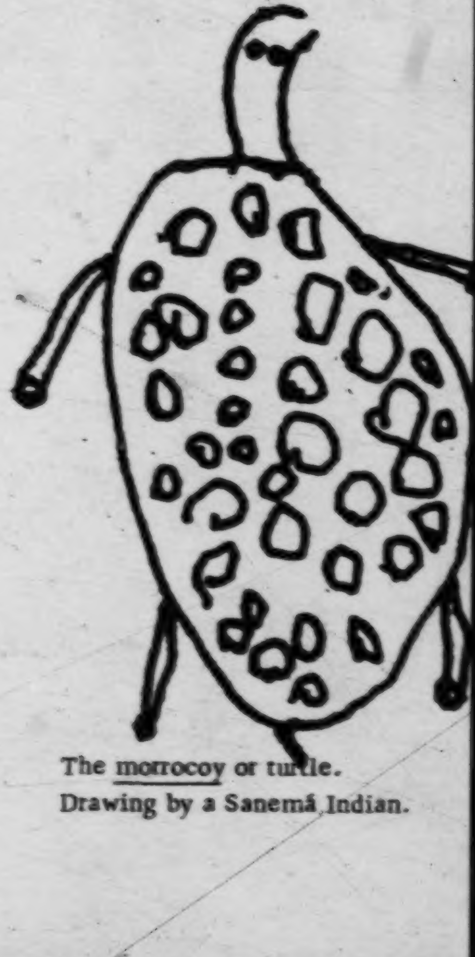


Palm. Drawing by a
Sanemá Indian.



The morrocoy or turtle.
Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

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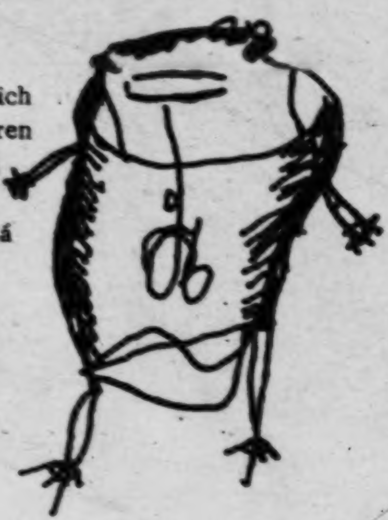

The female toad which saved the hero children from the persecution of the Great Jaguar. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

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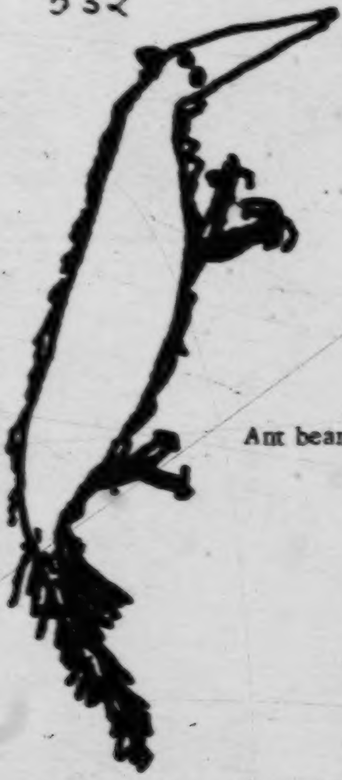
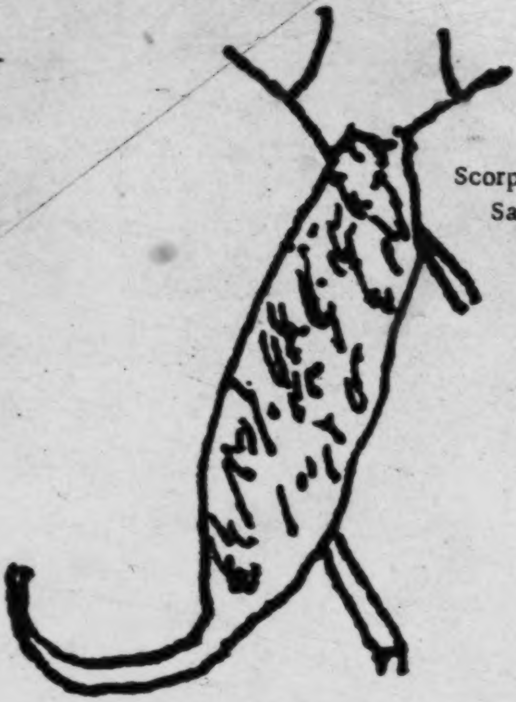
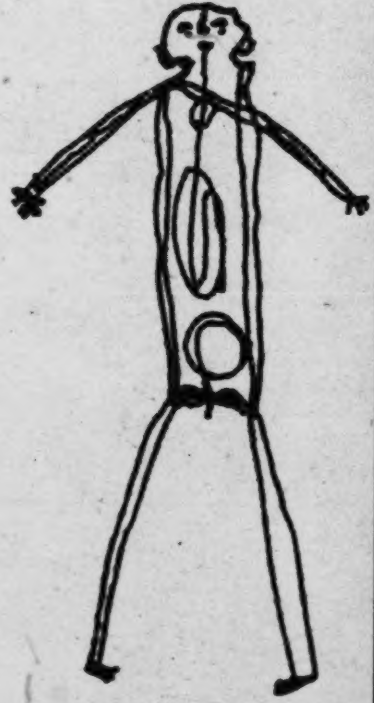


Ant bear. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.



Scorpion. Drawing of a Sanemá Indian.



A man, with heart, stomach, bladder, and sexual organ. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

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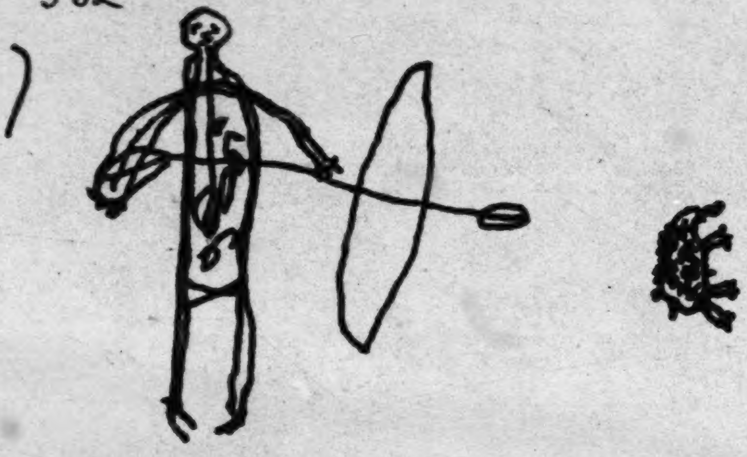

Indian hunting peccaries with bow and arrow. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

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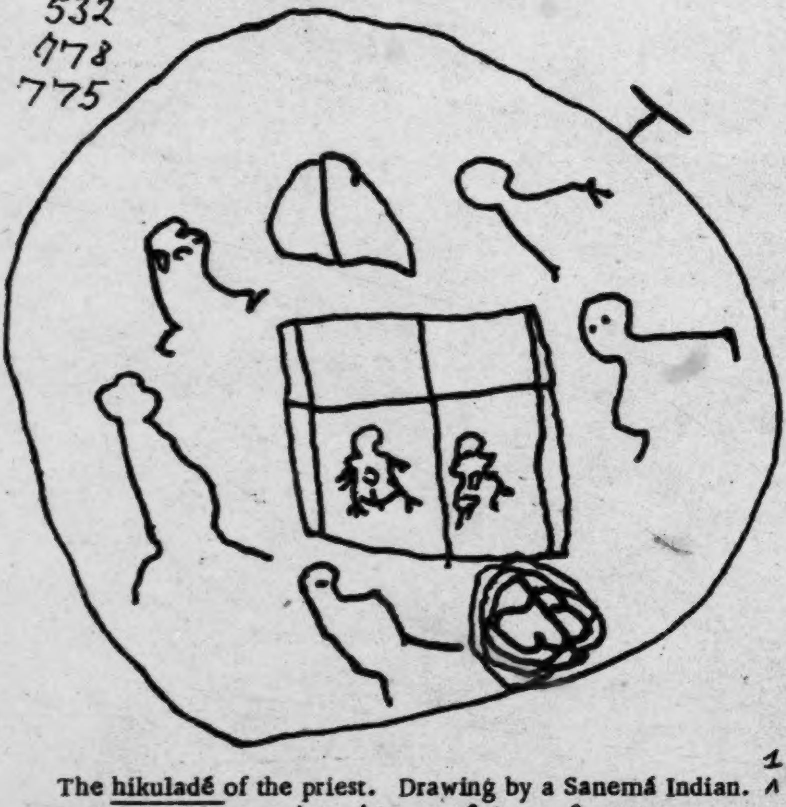

The hikuladé of the priest. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.[1]

[1] [see explanation of this figure on p. 99--An]

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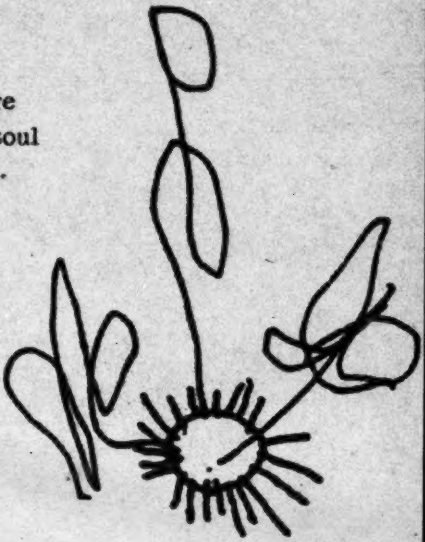
Cremation of a corpse. The fire forms spirals of smoke and the soul appears coming out of the body. Drawing of a Sanemá Indian.



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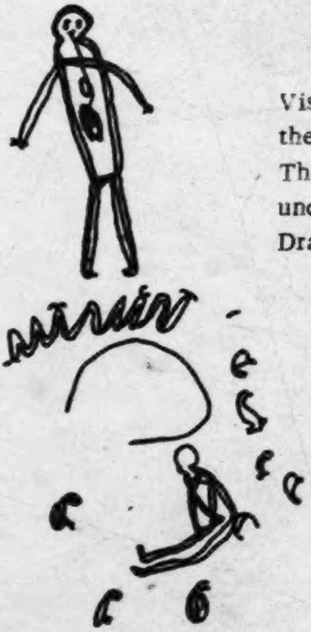

Vision of the cosmos. God above the path of the sun and the earth. The "guapo" seated on a bench under the earth with animals. Drawing of a Sanemá Indian.

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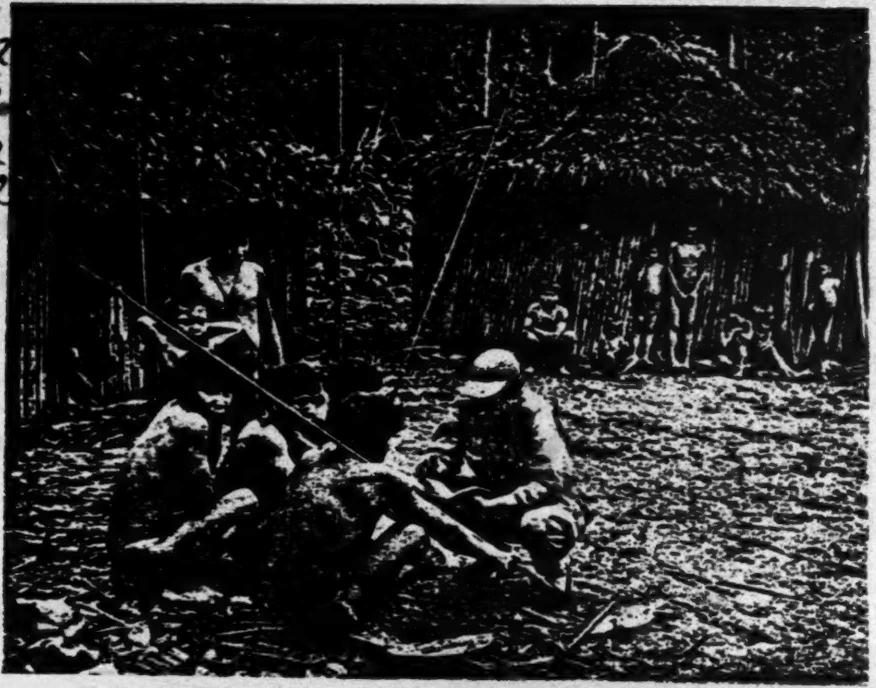

The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Venturí.

501

Sanemá raft.

4: Wilbert--73 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

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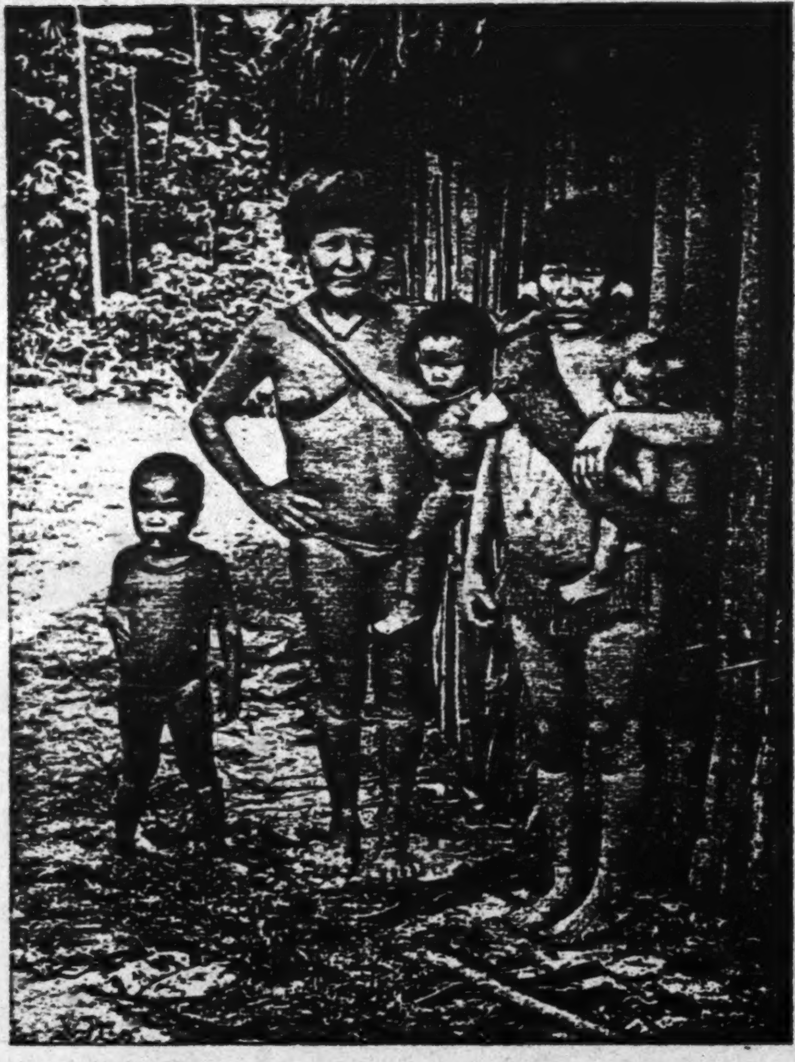

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[344]

Group of Sanemá women and children of the upper Orinoco. In the background the wall of a communal house of the Makiritare Indians.

4. Wilbert--74 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ.
Sanema

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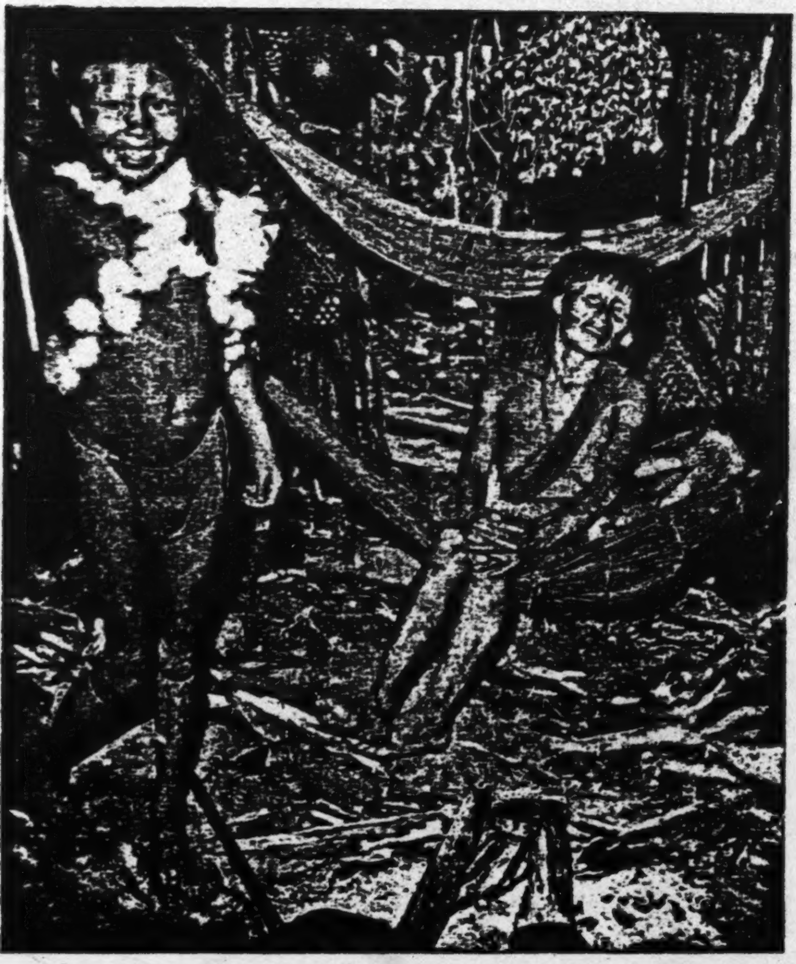

Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuari in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

4. Wilbert--75 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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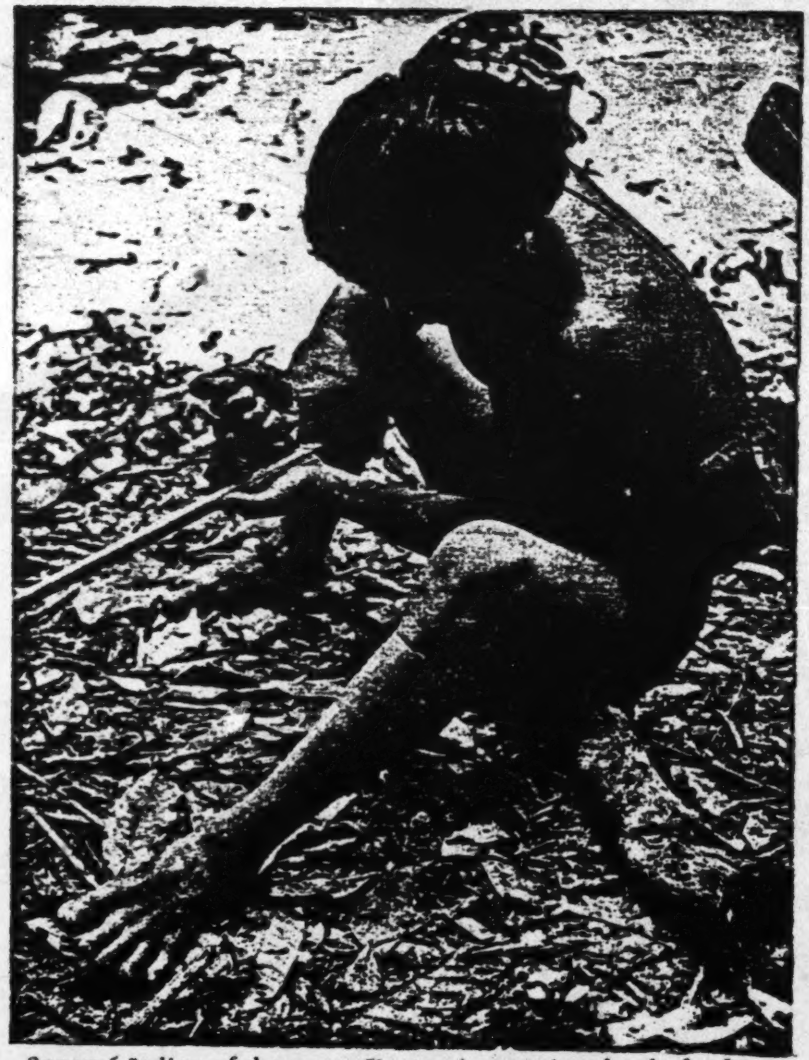

[237]

Sanemá Indian of the upper Ventuari preparing the shaft of an arrow, using a typical "knife" made out of a rodent's tooth mounted on a small stick.

4: Wilbert--76 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

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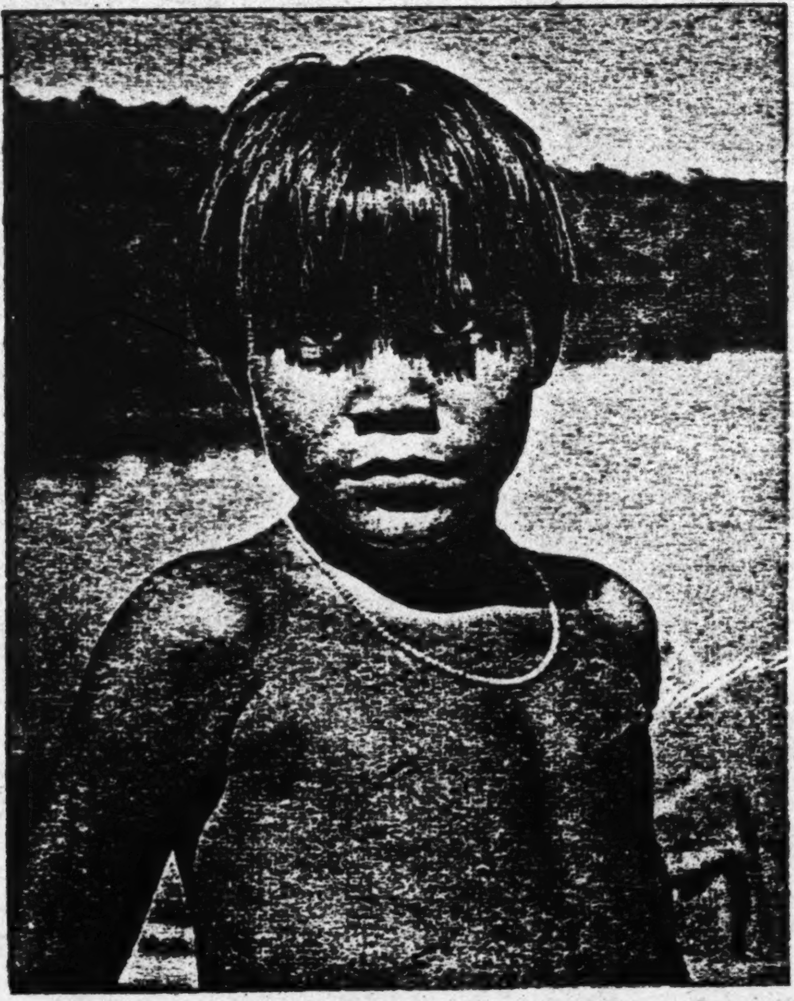

Waica boy of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi.

4: Wilbert--77 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

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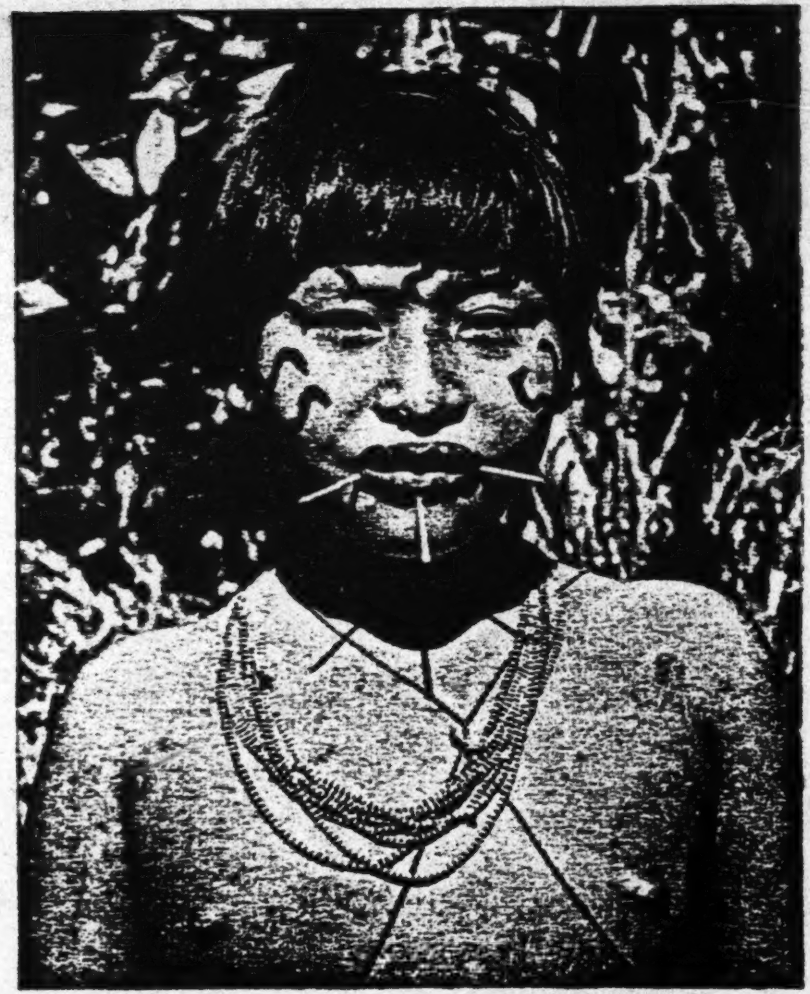

[304] A Waica girl of the upper Orinoco. The little sticks are held in perforations of the lips.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi

4: Wilbert--78 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

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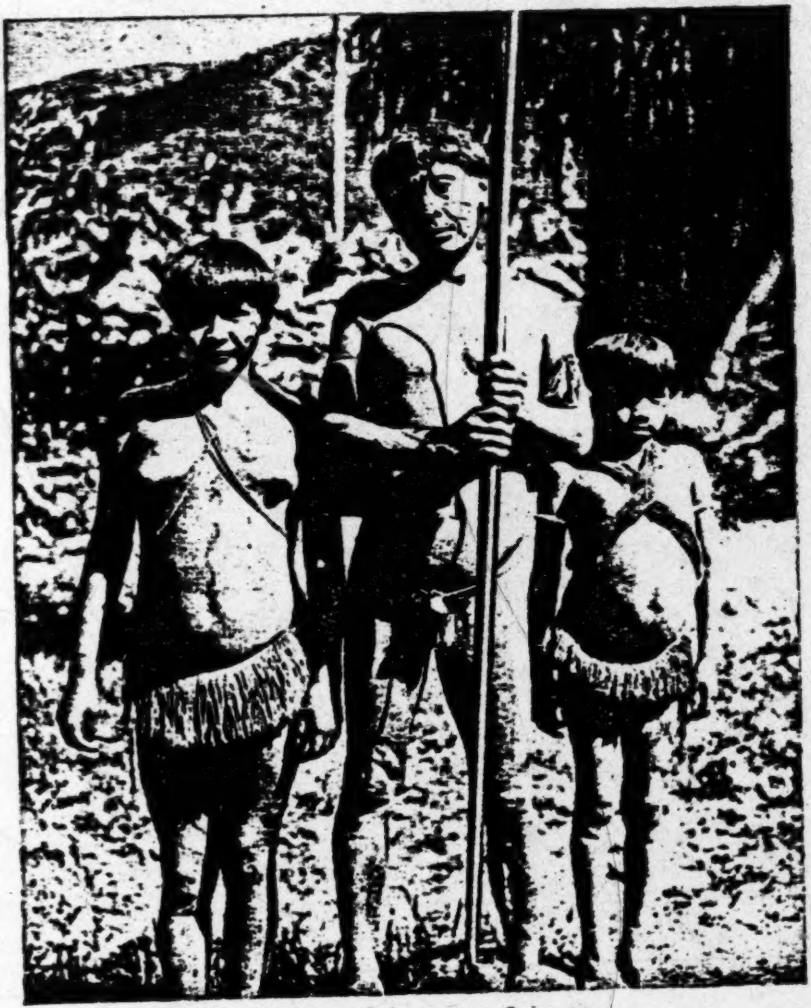

Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuz

4: Wilbert--79 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama

Achagua SC 5
Guahibo SC 14

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Rancheria of the Guahibo Indians at the mission "La Virgen de Coromoto" near Puerto Ayacucho.

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Rancheria of acculturated Piapoco near Puerto Ayacucho.

/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and
they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless,
the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the
Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not
smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating
them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip.
The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It
seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of
strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One
who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube
and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is related
[764] to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial
ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his
"híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their
various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew
off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came
back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among
the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while
on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal
extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us
if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

/209 cont./

596 591 [182] itself to an arrangement of this sort. In their seminomadic state there do not seem to be any sufficiently decisive economic factors to require a unilocal residence rule, which in a way would hinder a young man, after his marriage, from remaining in the group of his family of orientation or from leaving in order to found his family of procreation matrilocally, according to the particular circumstances. 591 596 177 241 But what we are sure of is that the irregularities observed are precisely a result of the economic and technological changes which the Sanemá of the regions /210/ adjacent to the Makiritare are undergoing via the process of acculturation. The cultivation of the land, although still rudimentary, and the possibility of augmenting their properties have brought about as a natural consequence, not only greater stability and possibly a considerable demographic increase, but also the impetus which disrupts the balanced equilibrium present in the custom of choosing the postnuptial residence which is fundamental for the bilocal extended family (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 35). So it is that one of the factors which has most contributed to bringing about disequilibrium among the Sanemá was the adoption of the Caribe agricultural system. The postmatrimonial moving from one local group to another was not of any particular importance in a nomadic society, but nowadays it presents certain difficulties not even suspected previously, for a man now has to leave his cultivated fields if he is to go with his wife. We are sure that the tendencies in the direction of the unilocal custom have their [601] roots precisely in this economic change. Finally, the existence of the bilocal extended family among the Yanoama is in complete accord with the Hawaiian type of social organization which we are describing as typical for this tribe.

594 621 Without knowing a Sanemá nuclear family intimately, it is difficult to group with certainty the members of a local group solely on the basis of their family ties, particularly in a community in which polygamy, the sororate, the levirate, and a Hawaiian kinship system are practiced. There are occasions, however, on which the members of a nuclear family gather together: to eat, to sleep, etc., and, in spite of our not having full knowledge of Sanemá society, we can, with all this, say that the nuclear

/210 cont./
594 family exists as a definite cell in that tribe, assuming all the
621 functions and all the specific responsibilities of that social
entity. Thus, there exists the formal arrangement of marriage,
which sanctions sexual contact between the spouses and
guarantees procreation. There exists economic co-operation
among the members of the nuclear family, which organizes
work and apportions the necessary subsistance and, in this way,
[86] injects persistence in the family's living together. There are
practically no tasks which exceed the capacity of the nuclear family
and the children learn the way of life directly from their parents
and elders.

594 The most visible center of the nuclear family is the fire
354 around which they eat and sleep. From here they go out to their
work and, upon their return, reassemble at the fireside. After
a long trip, the man takes the small sticks from his quiver and
makes a fire; there is a new fire; a new home is established.

596 Each individual Sanemá belongs also to an extended family
621 made up according to the residence rules already explained.
The local group /211/ consists of two or more of these extended families of the same bilateral kinsfolk and form /sic/ a
band. This local group or band is the largest social unit to which
[619] a Sanemá belongs. The terms "subtribe" and "tribe" which we use
are artificial terms lacking in real meaning for the Sanemá.
But the band is definitely a familiar concept for him, one which
he knows very well and with which he identifies. The band
guarantees economic and social stability, and its well-being
benefits the individual member, who feels tied to it by a multitude of family ties.

621 Each local group has innumerable enemies, while the circle
628 of friends is extremely small. Contact between all of one group
with a neighboring group is rare, but does sometimes occur.
They sometimes get together for commercial reasons or at funeral
ceremonies, but their friendship is weak and unstable.

601 We were unable, for lack of an informant, to obtain a list of
582 kinship terms. Our impression is that a Hawaiian system is involved.
600 One may not marry a female cross or parallel cousin. There are

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
[689] tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
[825] of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to
speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three differ-
791 ent theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
756 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
793 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not
the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman
and priest in particular, represent the most influential position
in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/212 cont./ We were greatly surprised to find
554 this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did
791 not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar
793 situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).
756 The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists
171 who have studied this matter,[1] is that it is a matter of a Circum-
194 Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of
793 priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural
771 complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence,
121 owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the
191 temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

121 We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the
773 Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit
793 authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have,
756 however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

771 The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts
171 of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the
174 Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

[1] [i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

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197 Regarding the Chibcha characteristics in the Warao and
174 Yanoama idioms, it is probably a substratum which we shall
provisionally call proto-Chibcha. The Chibcha traits which are
perceived in them do not seem to represent elements acquired
owing to contact, but rather an ancient stratum common to the
idioms which are at the present time identified as Chibcha.
143 Finally, it is necessary to point out that, judging from the genetic
174 constitution (the Diego antigen) of some Chibcha tribes, it might
be surmised that the highly formative culture was introduced by
people genetically different from the Marginal Chibcha such as
Tunebo, Barí, Warao, Yanoama, whose culture was favorably
conditioned in the direction of the adoption and the increment
of formative cultures and indigenous civilizations. Some tribes
were absorbed by the invaders; others, such as the tribes that
we have just mentioned, maintained their independence. Perhaps
we shall have to deal with greater emphasis in the future
with primitive reminiscences in the formative cultures instead
of talking so much about traits and loans from the west among
the Marginals of Guayana /Guiana/ and others. We have the
impression that we are bringing out a complex of ancient culture
in South America, from which a number of traits have survived
in the more highly developed cultures.

622 Political duties are performed by a chief /jefe/ and a mili-
[624] tary leader. We are of the opinion that the priest can at the same
[793] time be the chief of a local group. We cannot, however, make a
categorical affirmation, owing to the confusion which exists
among the people as a consequence of the strong cultural current
which is invading this Sanemá nucleus. In the same group on the
Ventuari we observed that the office of chief is inherited patrilineally.
The old chief had left his duties to his eldest son,
about 28 years old, and it was easy to see that his younger brother,
about 20 years old, was also respected as a possible future chief
(cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61. Chieftainships over more than a
local group do not exist.

/213 cont./

793 624 [622] For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 /123 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the impression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly [276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 775 [841] [126] [532] There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals; he was the guapo. [1]

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

[1] [see p. 71-An.]

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no
one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the
heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill
[621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local
group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social
mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite
554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,
769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to
628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,
[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is
extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with
certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to
take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a
member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablí
shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes,
points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the
opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always
the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though
nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during
the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their
dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be-
[788] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex-
[574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to
prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater
detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether
these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father,
who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In
162 the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition
855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in
the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their
children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they
participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in
all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of
[illegible] the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

The first menstrual period

/215 cont./

584 indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife
881 who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes
a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised
as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods
for mythological reasons.

881 In their oral literature the Sanemá tell of a very sad case
773 which occurred in remote times because a girl concealed her
first menstruation. Oineitīb, a scrawny dwarf, found out about what
had happened and caused heavy rains to fall for a period which
demolished the rancheria where the girl lived. All the men
died. The young girl went away to live with the neighboring
group, where she was greeted with unequivocal signs of friendliness.
On the very day of her arrival a man went to the river to
fish, when suddenly he saw floating on the water the dead bodies
of the people of the rancheria recently destroyed by the heavy
rain. He immediately realized what had happened. He returned
to the rancheria and killed the girl. The dwarf ate the girl and
all the people who lived in the rancheria destroyed by the
rain. This happens very rarely, however, which is why the dwarf
is so thin.

881 We do not know the content of the puberty rites, but it
[302] seems that the hair is cut in the case of both sexes, and, for the
[262] boys as well as for the girls, food is limited to cassava and water,
and that in small amounts. They do not eat meat. An informant
343 from the Erebato spoke to us of a special hut where the women
841 remain for the duration of their menstrual period. If we under-
881 stood him correctly, this hut is round and dome-shaped and made
of palm leaves stuck into the ground. Inside the hut there is a
circle made of little sticks placed side by side, within which
there are two sticks stuck into the ground one meter apart. Between
these sticks is fixed a bejuco. /216/ The woman, who
must not lie down during menstruation, sits down and the bejuco
serves as a back support. We did not see any house of this type.

584 The arrangements for a marriage are initiated with a private
discussion between the two young lovers. The boy indicates to
his fiancée that he wishes to take her as his wife and says to her:

/216 cont. /

584 "*péwa písayêl.*" = I love you! If the girl agrees, she answers with the statement most feared and at the same time most desired by Sanemá suitors: "*ipaháwana'a wahábalone!*" = speak to my father!

The anxiety which the young lovers feel as a result of this custom, which prescribes that, before marrying, they must speak to the future father-in-law, is surprising. We observed it in a palpable way in one of our informants. Sometimes it is necessary to wait until the girl takes the initiative and shows signs of love. In this case it is she who brings the matter up directly with her father. But the prevalent custom seems to be that it is the boy who must go to the house of his future father-in-law, who, forewarned, waits for him toward the end of the day. The future son-in-law comes without delay, but without showing any signs of haste or nervousness in order not to attract the attention of the people. He sits down in front of his fiancee's father, his gaze lost in the distance, and says in a very low voice: "*authĩwana sahßĩp kobĩtob' âble*" = I need, I want your daughter. Everyone in the rancheria knows that a man will soon arrive to marry one of their prettiest girls, and all desire to know this man. Should the young man have been able to enter the rancheria incognito, all are aware of his arrival now, for the father-in-law gives a shout of surprise and repeats in a loud voice the boy's statement. The youth remains impassive, without moving, while all the people congregate to look at him, asking: what did you say? what did you say? All remain expectant to hear what the father-in-law may say. But the father-in-law is in no hurry. He says that he would lack three good *conucos*, that the girl requested has a younger sister who also wants to get married ... etc. All his suggestions are equivalent to actual conditions, which the young man considers carefully, but when the father-in-law finally says, "*wahĩspa kukêne*" = take the woman, the young man runs off to the forest, now well informed about what he must do.

[593]
[604] Should the girl not have a father, she would be represented by her elder brother or by her uncle.

/216 cont./

584 There are cases in which a brother or a friend of the suitor wishes to serve as intermediary and offers to speak to the father-in-law. The gesture is very well received and highly appreciated.

585 During the first two or three days the young husband remains
583 in the forest /217/ hunting; the woman hangs her hammock
near that of her husband in the house of the family of orientation,
[476] that is, where she has always lived. This time having elapsed,
the man tries to bring together some twenty friends to help him
clear the land for the three *conucos* requested by his father-in-law.
Usually he has no difficulty in finding this help. The father of
the boy and his brothers do their best to feed the workers well,
and, when the work is done, the young husband offers them as
presents arrows, bows, etc. which they refuse to accept. Later,
the man begins to clear some *conucos* for his own family.

584 Our informant from the upper Caura insisted that, once con-
627 sent has been obtained, delivery is definite and the girl cannot
then accept any other young man. In order to give us an example,
he told us what had happened to a man of his group.

A girl had accepted him as a husband, but, because of unforeseen circumstances, he had not had time to talk to the father-in-law. Then the girl surrendered to another young man and married him. The father-in-law knew nothing about the first offer. One day the people of the pueblo found the young couple in their hammock pierced by two arrows poisoned with curare. The murderer informed the father-in-law and the inhabitants of the rancheria of the motive which had caused him to perpetrate the crime. Neither the father-in-law nor the people intervened in the matter, for, according to them, the young lover was right in punishing the two who had deceived him in this way.

584 Sometimes parents marry off their children before they
595 reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is
881 still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact
with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed.

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus- 937 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional 586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of 587 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under 607 his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, [836] since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has 587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children 593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al- [601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In [184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

/218 cont./

595 We have mentioned that an adult may marry a very young girl, but must not have sexual relations with her until after the first menstrual periods. We do not base our observation on the practice of polygyny among the Sanemá in isolated cases, but rather on the fact that several men have several adult wives at the [554] same time. It does not seem that polygyny is an exclusive privilege of status or rank, but rather is an accepted thing, since [584] all adults may marry two or more women. Since there seems to be some scarcity of marriageable girls, the custom of binding oneself to a little girl can be looked upon as a form of foresightedness [587] by the man, with a view to the future. Many polygynous marriages, however, probably stem from the custom of the levirate.

587 765 There are widows who marry very shortly after the death of their husbands; others, however, wait for many months. They live in the house of their brother-in-law or in that of their parents, and it seems that the future husband does not demand that they cease mourning since the person mourned and for whom they weep was not only their husband but also the brother of the new suitor.

If the brother (who is very often the youngest) does not want to or cannot /219/ marry all the widows of his deceased brother, he allows them to live with another man. These marriages take place only after some time, during which the brother of the deceased and the women live apart from the society in a sort of isolation.

587 There are no differential rules for secondary marriages, but the father of sisters has the right to prevent both of them from marrying the same man, particularly if the man, owing to his poor preparation or deficiency, cannot give assurance of the economic help which he expects from him. This explains why only older men with greater experience in life are able to marry several women with ease.

595 The wives of one man may live under the same roof or in several houses, and, in spite of there being no fixed rotation, the husband must devote the same amount of time, more or less, to each of his homes.

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law
of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who
contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.
589 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices
793 celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá,
159 but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle.
753 As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies
825 of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a
763 Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica,
the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed
all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle.
A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by
a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people,
that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any
other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted
its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by
and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for
159 his certain death.

764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/220 cont./
159 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into
764 the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers,
on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose
there. Often the members of the family will not leave the
corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and
[775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout
when a jaguar approaches them.

[325] The feline respects only a dead *sablɨ*, because he will die
in turn if he approaches.

[756] Our informant spent several nights next to his father's
[784] corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp
ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose
their feet.

152 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some
764 of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die.
Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and
the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the
forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his
tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father
and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go
with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for
fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go
to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the
flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the
men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased
in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of
bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There
they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while
the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 Later the *sablɨ* carries the bones to a fire prepared in the
775 plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our
[756] informant also said that as the *sablɨ* did this he pronounced a
well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well,"
for, if he did not say this, the *hĩkula* would not be able to find
its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same
time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

/221 cont./
765 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his híkula
775 and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet
understand. On occasion the owner of the híkula can be heard
as he comes whistling to carry the híkula of the dead man to the
place where all the others are to be found.

765 The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around
[276] the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and
dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their
[756] neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the
morning, at which time the sablí pulls out the bones in order to
pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes
which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forth-
coming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemã́
771 is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a
tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the
latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and,
furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that
he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of
[184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of de-
parture the data which we were able to obtain and those which
have been published by various authors of unquestionable relia-
bility, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the
Sanemã́, because, despite the fact that there are many traits
similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in gen-
eral there stand out certain specific elements which will give us
a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious
756 practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a
791 different supernatural sphere.

The first of the three is the hɛwĩawã́n, or the priest, who is
793 the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He
776 belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to
the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes
residence.

/221 cont./

793 [776 621] Since the Sanemá people cannot exist in good conditions without the continued and intimate contact with the house of Omao, *sáiyawan*, the priest makes himself indispensable in the grouping of a band, whose very existence is perpetuated in large part by the quality of the priest.

The *hɛwĩawán* of the Sanemá devotes himself exclusively to filling his high office. For this reason he cannot work, or hunt, or fish, etc. like a common man, and he lives on the benefactions given to him by the community as compensation for the services which he renders to it.

/222/ In his frequent flights between the earth and heaven he commonly kills a vulture or sparrow hawk and that explains why he often returns with his mouth covered with blood, bringing some cashew birds and, on certain limited occasions, even a human leg, trophies which he obtained as he killed the enemy (23).

23. It is likely that all this represents the ideal habitus rather than the real one of the priest.

793 773 Before discussing the nature of the power of the *hɛwĩawán*, we shall first narrate the genesis of the first *hɛwĩawán* of the Sanemá, which will explain to us how it comes about that the *hɛwĩawán* is able to fly and why he always goes about raised some 30 centimeters from the ground when he is on the earth.

There was a man who one day went into the forest to hunt. There he was met by a Great Jaguar, *omaukóhe*, who is a gigantic jaguar, master of the other felines, and who goes about in an upright position like a man. The jaguar caught the man and ate all his flesh, leaving the skeleton picked clean but without breaking a single bone. The man remained alive and asked the Great Jaguar to give him other flesh. The Jaguar gave him other flesh, but told him that henceforth he would be *hɛwĩ* (bat).
[825] And from that time on the man *hɛwĩawán* is also a bat. He is a very timid man; children love him very much, because he never gets angry and does not scold. When he is in the company of men, he spends his time singing songs, *wásámo* songs, which

/222 cont./
793 the men learn because of the frequency with which he sings them.
773 He sings during the day, but especially at night. Suddenly he
[776] interrupts his song and flies up into the sky, where he joins
other hɛwĩawán in order to sup with Omao.

The hɛwĩawán must jealously keep a certain number of
793 taboos, and on the degree of care with which he keeps them
784 depends, not only his power as a priest, but also the existence of
[262] all his people. Thus, for example, he must not eat crabs or
other animals which in reality are men to them, just like eagles,
etc.

[778] Should he do this, the "weight of the dead" kills his
hikuladɛ, a disaster which, in turn, causes the death, not only
[726] of the priest, but also of a large part of his congregation. For
the same reason, the hɛwĩawán never takes part in war or in any
combat whatsoever, because, although he is invulnerable and
no arrow or club can kill him, his hikuladɛ could not bear the
"weight" of a man killed by his weapons. This is the reason why
each Sanemá local group relies on a special chief for wartime.

793 The hɛwĩawán, who belongs to the court of Omao more than
[776] to the Sanemá community, does not marry a specific woman.
He may have sexual relations with all the unmarried women
[836] of the group, but he is completely unconcerned about them and
the children. He has no duties as either husband or father.

/223/ If a hɛwĩawán dies, any woman of the group may
have a son predestined to be a hɛwĩawán. No one knows which
[776] of the boys born in the period immediately after the death of a
[781] priest may be the hɛwĩawán of the future, but one day the true
hɛwĩawán will return from the forest where he has met the Great
Jaguar, who changed him into a priest, replacing his human
flesh with other flesh more worthy of his bones, the flesh of a
bat-priest.

[771] He than informs the people of what has happened, and, as
that election happens shortly after the death of a priest, the new
hɛwĩawán tries to take the vacant place in time, assuring, in
this manner, the continuation of uninterrupted contact which the
Sanemá have had with Omao generation after generation.

/223 cont./

776 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the
793 deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kõhe,"
indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak
of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme
Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar,
into the court of Omao.

793 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising
171 to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but,
as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have
found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the
Warao wiʃiráto.

793 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not
776 only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also
778 because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although
it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ,
the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is
like a globe which the hɛwĩawán keeps in his chest. We shall
also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema
793 has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We
778 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the
775 souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there
and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion,
793 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements,
778 but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick,
755 particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant
[114] explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dib), the people of the
[775] hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the
priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a
time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indicates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the
793 body and does not want to return. The híkula therefore constitute
778 a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the
628 Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to
have any communication with the kíkula-dib /sic/ of the neighboring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

/224 cont./
793 other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them
778 lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do
628 not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the
[776] *hɛwĩawãn* gather with their *hĩkula-dĩb*.

793 The *hĩkula-dĩb* of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria,
778 in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the
775 house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial
community, and for this reason more than one priest is unneces-
sary. In the section of the illustrations‡ one can see the
532 *hikuladɛ* of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees
793 there five *hĩkula-dĩb*, or souls of ancestors of the group in which
778 the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the
775 center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One
126 of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen
on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is
seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted
emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish
for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took
him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him
532 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is
793 based on the belief that a Sanemã must never speak of the insect
778 of the house of the *hikuladɛ*. As a matter of fact our informant
775 never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab
126 on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it
825 was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other
coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American
ethnology.

171 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who
773 affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it
825 with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it *payak*,
778 a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to
the *hĩkuladɛ* of the Sanemã priest to note the Mataco custom of
attributing a supernatural power to a *maraca* /gourd rattle/ with
sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The
similarity between the *hikuladɛ* of the Sanemã and the "sacred
maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

‡ [see p. 70 - -Analyst]

/224 cont./

793 The function of the scarab in the curing process is as follows:
755 If the hɛwĩawãn wishes to cure a patient, he takes the
825 hĩkula from his chest and places it upon the patient. In order
to effect the cure, the scarab opens an invisible hole in the chest
of the patient, and the hikuladɛ of the priest enters through there.
[775] /225/ Once within the patient's chest, the hĩkula-dĩb come out
of the hikuladɛ in order to combat and bring to the exterior the
cause of the sickness. After a while the priest again takes possession
of his hikuladɛ, and the treatment is fully successful.
The informant did not want to mention the name of the caleopteran
or even to talk about it, fearing that if he were to do so and
if he were then to become sick, the priest would not be able to
cure him, since the insect would not open a hole in the chest
of the patient.

793 It is our impression that the priest only cures the ailments
755 that result from the presence, in the body of the sick person,
775 of the soul of a wandering deceased person who has approached
the rancherias and whose very presence causes pain.

If we understand that the part of the Sanemã which goes to the house of Omao is the soul, we may say that the priest is concerned with the well-being of the same in the bodies of his companions, and that he represents the actualizing principle between the subject "the soul of the man" and the object "Omao," who enter into communication by means of the intervention
[171] of the priest. For the soul, which goes to live in the house
of Omao as hĩkula-dĩb, we noted down the name of hɛnpĩrtĩb,
which essentially seems to correspond in its character to the "bole"
of the Waica (Zerries, 1958b).

793 The hɛwĩawãn may send a hĩkula-dĩb to a neighboring
775 pueblo in order to cause sickness among its inhabitants, but his
754 primary function is to guarantee the well-being of the souls of
his community and to present them eventually to Omao at death.
793 It is interesting in this respect to note that the Surara and Pakidai,
754 subgroups of the Yanoama of Brazil, are of the opinion that
825 sicknesses are transmitted by a shaman of a neighboring pueblo
[illegible] by means of sparrow hawks and bats. The Sanemã say that the

/225 cont./ The Sanemá say that the
793 825 hɛwïawân kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher, 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 778 [776] [126] [775] The hikuladɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the hɛwïawân is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 276 262 515 123 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 533 774 It seems that all the men are potentially sablífes, but among them there are some who are very strong and others who are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the híkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/226 cont./
756 chest. They enter, without loss of time, through the extremi-
533 ties of the body and through the head. They arrive in the order
774 in which their names are sung by the master sablí, who in this
way "builds a pueblo" of a microcosmos in the body of the man.
The stronger the master, the greater will be the "pueblo," and
the greater this "pueblo" is, the better chance the sablí will
have to augment his inner world and his power during his life.

756 The hikuladɨ of the sablí is essentially different from that
774 of the priest, in the sense that it is inhabited by the vital princi-
[778] ple of vegetable and animal species and not by the souls of de-
parted ancestors. The man also has a specific híkula, different
from his soul and which, as is true of the vegetable and animal
kingdoms, seems to be immortal and spiritual, essentially joined
to animate matter until death. Each specimen of a species
has a specific híkula; after death, the speciman goes to a luminous
place in the forest. While the soul of a man may abandon the
body during sleep, etc., without its being detrimental for the
man himself, the híkula never leaves until the moment of death.
Furthermore, the soul is typically human, while the híkula is
found in man and also in plants and animals. Some informed us
with insistence that women and small children do not have híkula.

773 Here is the story which explains the origin and the nature
774 of the híkula in the animate world.

[776] Chinanídmawan is a gigantic demon of dreadful shape,
with long, sharp claws. He has skin which is impenetrable and
as hard as rock.

/227/ One day Chinanídmawan came to attack the Sanemá.
The latter posted themselves with their weapons to face his attack.
Soon, however, the Sanemá realized that arrows and lances had
no effect on the demon, who captured most of his enemies.
Chinanídmawan quartered and devoured his victims, but kept the
skins, which he nailed out on boards around and inside his house.
[171] (It is extremely interesting that this custom of keeping the skin
[727] of enemies has been preserved in Sanemá mythology, since it is
reminiscent of some tribes of the Cauca, in Colombia, of the Mauta
of Ecuador, of the Huauca of Peru, and of the Inca. It also re-
calls the cult of Xipe in Central America.)

/227 cont./

773 The Sanemá became discouraged in the face of the
774 ferociousness of the monster and feared the day on which
Chinanídmawan would again mistreat and kill them.

773 In those days there lived among the Sanemá a great
774 sablí, very famous and extremely powerful, who began to think
756 of how he could free them from this demon. The great sablí
went off to the forest, and there he found a liana which seemed
very suitable for his purposes. He cut a piece of the bejuco and
returned. During the night he went to the house of Chinanídmawan
in order to surprise him while he was asleep surrounded by his
horrible trophies. In fact he did find him in a deep sleep; the
sablí then introduced a piece of the liana up his anus. The demon
woke up startled. He realized that a powerful sablí had found
the means of killing him. In fact, shortly thereafter
Chinanídmawan died, and the Sanemá exposed his corpse to the
sun so that the flesh might rot. But because the demon had such
tough skin, the flesh dried up and the skin remained intact; they
then tried to burn it, but this was impossible, so they flung it
into the forest and fled from the place.

773 The skin of Chinanídmawan, abandoned in the forest,
774 gained access into the plants, animals, and men. That is why
all male human beings, the animals, and the plants have within
their bodies a hard and indestructible Chinanídmawan which is
called híkula.

774 The híkula is that part of the male which remains on earth
[764] after his death. When the body of a person is burned, his híkula,
on seeing the black cloud which rises from the fire, joins all the
other híkulas and they remain there for a long time... listening
and listening to what comes from the world where men live.

[826] The size of the híkula of a man corresponds to the measure
of his torso, and the larger the híkula is, the stronger is the person.

[764] During the funeral rites, the men, under the influence of
yopo, sing about their gigantic híkula, and, in order to prove their
[276] gigantic strength, /228/ they invite each other to the wasamú,
and they squeeze each other powerfully with their arms or with
[793] sticks. Among the men, only the priest, hɛwíawan, has no híkula,
because he is already a citizen of heaven.

/228 cont./

756 The Sanemá sablí has great power over animals and plants
778 represented in his hikuladɛ, with which he communicates while
125 he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a
[533] jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the
song õkamõ against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɛ of the sablí goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablí do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 The sablíes sing almost every night, and the bigger the
533 animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense
754 is the song. In his songs, the sablí can send any híkula from
[125] his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however
[774] far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day
the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 I have the impression that the híkulas belonging to the
756 various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that
they behave in an active way only at the command and wish
[754] of the sablí. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a
[753] híkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention
[761] of the sablí and by his magical power.

The priest sablí, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts,
756 sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare
755 off the harmful híkula which is striving to enter the body of the
774 man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically
fought by the híkula of the sablí and others chosen from his "pueblo of híkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablí depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great híkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the híkula or híkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablí makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the híkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

/228 cont./
756 may also happen that a *sablí* with a small "pueblo" of *híkulas* in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a *híkula* suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert
sablí, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A
young *sablí* is always hopeful that the *híkula* "pueblo" in his chest
will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the *híkula* of the *sablí* makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the *sablí* is the best
man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps
[624] with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A *sablí* of great power does not die until all the *híkulas* of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
774 his *híkula* grows and brings about his death. Then the *sablí* in-
[754] forms his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his *híkula* frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The *híkula* of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place.
Our informant told us that the *híkulas* of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /*tigres mariposas*/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a *híkula* of his group or one from a dead *sablí*. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

/229 cont./

774 The world of the "specific" *híkulas* is found on the other
side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls.
There the *sabíes* live forever, together with the dead animals
and plants.

562 It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of
773 our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact
825 that women do not have specific *híkula*. He asserted to us,
[774] furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and
that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each
Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding *hanekasá*.* The informant
would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew
[773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one
can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by
the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out
of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the *hanekasá* are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] It is possible that there exists some relationship between
[763] the *híkula* and the male, for it is said that men die from the
"weight" of the *híkula* of certain animals; but we are not certain
on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are
[763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and
the *hanekasá* animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria)
dies for each *hanekasá* which is killed. Other religious concepts which
are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

791 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá
755 society is the magician, the *káilala*. He does not sing like the
sabí and has no influence over the specific *híkulas* or over souls.
He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures
by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and
painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

*[see additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

Y /230 cont./
791 present by taking out from under his tongue stones, small sticks,
[755] vermin, etc. "Arrows" come out in the form of a black liquid,
of tobacco, etc. He spits out and tramples on what he has been
Y able to extract. The kåilala of the Sanemá also possesses power
[754] that is benevolent and malignant at the same time and can shoot
Y magic arrows at the enemy rancheria, thus causing sickness or
[171] death. If we compare this religious complex of the Sanemá
with that of the Warao, we find such a great similarity that
there cannot be the least doubt but that both have the same origin.

W Among the Warao the temple cult is strictly local and
793 cannot be carried out in a place where there is no priest; who
[771] may be a man or a woman, although for this office there is
[787] a special category in the society of the Warao. It is not heredi-
[776] tary and can be obtained by the special calling of the Supreme
Being, Kanobo.

W The son of a priest is generally considered as more suitable --
[171] by birth -- to fill the office of his father, but although the son
may be competent to succeed his father in a political position,
he does not necessarily have the right to succeed him as priest,
as happens among the Taino, where the son inherits the office of
priest together with the chieftainship.

W The Warao temple cult is furthermore completely separate
793 from shamanism and magic; religious matters are the responsi-
755 bility of especially designated persons who act only within their
776 [771] own domain. /231/ The fact that the priest may cure sickness
must not lead the observer to false conclusions, since it is logical,
according to Warao mentality, that the priest controls -- through the
power of God -- the spirits of heaven, whose desire is to take
everyone to the side of God, to whom they owe obedience and
W whose orders are transmitted to them by the mediation of the
793 priest. These are spirits objectively good, but which become
755 subjectively bad when with their metaphysical capability they
776 enter the body of a man, physically limited, causing a pressure,
753 that is, a sickness. In Warao terminology the priest cures by
778 "alleviating this pressure," bringing about as a result typical
ailments, such as fevers of various kinds, which he cures by
frightening away the spirits with merely his presence, but in
particularly critical and difficult cases he may also use one of his
maraca /gourd rattle/.

W /231 cont./
793 This latter instrument in the hands of the priest-doctor might
755 cause one to err by identifying him with the shaman, although
778 actually the maraca of a priest and that of a shaman are considered
776 by the Warao as essentially different. The powers of the maraca
of the priest are guaranteed by the kareko stones which are inside
W it, a second category of spirits which belong to the court of God.
756 The stones in the maraca of the shaman represent other powers.
755 So, although morphologically both instruments have the same origin,
778 functionally they have become specialized, probably in different
776 fashion, by our Indians. Warao shamanism is based on the conception of the existence of an immanent essence in all objects which can only be freed by the power of the shaman for the purpose of being directed toward someone's body. Each shaman has also the power to extract this type of essence from a person, that is, to cure him of his sickness. The shaman cures by smoking, emitting smoke and blowing, and, when he does so, he must rest his hand on the affected part, while he allows to pass through his mind numerous images of objects, until he fixes his attention
W on a special one which is the object which caused the sickness,
791 as a result of which the spirit immediately jumps to his hand or to
755 the maraca. The magician, finally, takes out from the body of a
754 person or puts into it material objects, the causes of sickness.

W Warao priests are specialized to a high degree. They must
793 observe special taboos regarding food, which must be cooked only
[262] by their wives in a fire newly kindled for it and in a special pot.
[264] They eat apart from the others, live in their own house, and must
[784] not perform any strenous work. Ideally, they make their living
from their office (Wilbert, 1957a, 1960a).

Y /232/ We publish below some mythological details on which
539 we were able to take notes.

OMAO AND SOAO

In the beginning there was a pregnant woman. One day the Great Jaguar came and devoured the woman. When he came to the uterus he wanted to eat it also, but at that very moment a toad appeared and told him that one ought not to eat that thing. The Jaguar left the uterus in the forest and went away.

/232 cont./

539 The toad picked up the uterus and took it home. After some months there came out of it two male twins to whom it gave the names Omao and Soao. The two boys were brothers, but the toad was not their "mother," in spite of its having fed them and protected them from all dangers.

One day the Jaguar returned again and heard the two young men talking. Then he realized what had happened, and he tried to kill the two brothers. But they gave a tremendous jump and climbed a gigantic tree. They remained there for a long time, eating the fruit of the tree. The Jaguar kept waiting for them and coveting their delicious food. Therefore he planned to climb the tree also, but when he came close to them they jumped off into space. The Jaguar followed them, but his luck did not hold, and on falling he hit the ground so hard that he died.

The two brothers went off to the forest. They were alone. The solitude was overwhelming. They decided to create man. They tried to make the males out of very hard wood so that they would not die. They therefore began going through the forest in search of the strongest tree. They found many, but Omao was not satisfied and continued searching. His brother Soao became discouraged and completely lost his patience; he took out his ax, felled the closest tree, and began to make men. When Omao arrived on the scene and saw the tree which his brother had felled, he became extremely sad, for he foresaw that men would die young for lack of strength. He became furious with his brother, and grabbing him by the arm, he threw him to the ground on top of a nest of wasps who stung him so much that he fled in panic, running and shouting, through the forest.

Sometimes polished axes are found in the forest; they are those of Omao, with which he felled four very strong trees. But he did not make men out of them, but snakes, which do not die since by changing the skins they are continually rejuvenated.

Then Omao and Soao wished to create women, and, as Soao was an excellent fisherman, Omao made him a fishhook so that he might go to the river to fish. But Soao lost the hook and came back empty-handed. Omao made another stronger hook for him.

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539 This time Soao pulled out an enormous fish. Omao put it in /233/ a basket, saying that it was his wife and that Soao must not touch it. Soao did not touch her despite the fact that she was very beautiful.

One day Omao told his brother that he wished to make a wife for him and also for the other men, that he was going to the shore and that he must take good care of his sister-in-law, being very careful not to touch her.

Omao went off and after walking a great distance came to the bank of a large river. There he found a great number of beautiful butterflies. From them he decided to create a wife for his brother and women for the other men. The butterflies were very wary and fled every time that Omao approached them. Then Omao changed himself into a fly and put out some sweet bait in order to attract the prey. But all was lost because at the very moment of catching the most beautiful butterfly Omao heard a scream which he identified as one from his wife. In fact, Soao, tired of waiting for his brother and for his wife, lost patience, opened the basket which his sister-in-law was in, and attempted to cohabit with her. But she gave a tremendous scream and escaped. The butterflies became frightened and fled from the shore.

Omao, angered by this, left his brother alone on the earth and went to heaven.

THE SUN AND THE MOON

[221] The sun is a man and the moon is also a man. The two regard each other as enemies because of the occurrence which I shall relate.

One day the moon told a man to go and look for firewood. The man went off to look for it. When he brought it, he did not please the moon, who wanted a great deal more. Again it sent him into the forest. Then the man realized that what the moon wanted was to eat him. Then the man fled. He ran to the sun in search of asylum and protection. The sun hid him. When the moon arrived in search of him, the sun said that it had not seen the man. The moon, angered, insisted and even wanted

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539 to search the sun's house. Then the sun burned its surface and
from that came the scars which show on its face.

The moon went to the other side of the world, and, while
the sun sealed its friendship with man, the moon was his ir-
539 reconcilable enemy. When the moon appears rose-colored, it
821 is because it, along with its family, is eating men. The sun
also has a family, but does not eat human flesh. Sometimes
the moon hides in its house in order to plan a new campaign.
[532] During that time women are very much afraid and, in order to
[751] protect themselves, paint a likeness of the sun on their cheeks;
they also commonly paint it on large stones which they find on the
path.

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OINEITĨB

539 Beneath the earth there exists the world of the dwarfs, who
[772] are called Oineitĩb. They live like men, but eat and speak very
rapidly. They have no intestines or anus, and when they eat meat or
other food, they cut it in pieces and swallow it raw, without
chewing (25). They sometimes also eat women who conceal their menstruation. On one occasion the subterranean river grew so much that it acquired an enormous volume and gained so much strength that it blew out the earth beneath the ground of the rancheria in which there lived a woman who had tried to conceal her state. The houses collapsed and the inhabitants drowned, with the exception of the women, who were devoured by the dwarfs and their souls went to live forever with the guapo, who is also unable to go up to heaven and live with Omao.

Because the dwarfs have no intestines, they are always hungry and, for that reason, devour their food with much greediness. On occasion one of these dwarfs comes to earth to visit a man, but never a woman. The man cannot see his guest, but

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[171] 25. See also the corresponding myth of the Yupa Indians of Venezuela (Wilbert, 1959d).

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539 feels his presence because a devouring hunger attacks him. When the man realizes what is happening, he begins to eat greedily and immediately goes to see the sablí so that he will get rid of the importunate dwarf.

THE WOMAN WHO TURNS INTO A PECCARY

A man wished to go hunting for peccaries and asked his wife to go with him. The woman was having her menstrual period but said nothing to her husband. The two of them met a small band of peccaries in the forest. The man made his wife climb a tree while he prepared to kill the wild pigs. Hardly had the hunter left the place when a peccary appeared at the foot of the tree. It changed into a man and climbed the tree in order to carry the woman off. When the hunter returned, he began to search painstakingly for his wife, but he did not find her. He ran back to the rancheria and told his companions what had happened. The latter decided to follow the tracks of the woman. The sablí placed himself at the head of the retinue, which advanced in Indian file.

Soon the group met a man who called himself haʕmõ and who gave off flames from his belly. They asked him if he had seen a woman in the vicinity. The man answered that he had seen a woman whose upper part had been changed into a peccary when she had tried to pass under a fallen log on all fours, and that she was accompanied by many men and women.

The Sanemá continued the search, and the haʕmõ man accompanied them. /235/ Toward dusk the men hung their hammocks very close together because it was cold. One of them, still half asleep, attempted to revive the fire by blowing strongly, but he made a mistake and blew on the fire of the haʕmõ, who turned into a guinea hen and flew away.

On the following day, very early in the morning, the men continued to look for the abducted woman. After they had walked for quite a long time, they heard the sound of an ax; someone was cutting trees. It was pólawan, the jaguar who always follows the peccaries. He was cutting firewood in order to roast a peccary which he had just killed. He had seen the woman almost completely

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539 transformed into a peccary; only her feet were still human. All those who accompanied her belonged to a great herd of peccaries. The põlawan offered to show them the way, and very early on the following day he helped them attack the enemy encampment. During the attack the man found his wife; he recognized her by her feet, which had still not lost their human shape. He approached her and, from the rear, grasped her upper lip with his right hand and her lower lip with his left hand, tugged violently, and ripped off the peccary skin, freeing her in this way from that repugnant disguise. The skin got up and ran away toward the forest. The Sanemá killed all the wild pigs, the men, the women, and the children. Põlawan said good bye to them, and the woman returned joyfully with the men to the rancheria.

THE HANEKASA

773 The hanekasá are a pueblo made up, in its immense majority, of women. There lives among them only one man of verile age, which insures reproduction. Only female children are born, and, when the progenitor reaches an advanced age, a male child comes who replaces his father in this pueblo of amazons. The number of males may not exceed three: a child, a man in the prime of life, and an old man.

The hanekasá by preference feed on lapa /paca/.

For each Sanemá settlement there is a corresponding hanekasá one. When two of these groups meet on the road, they fight like men. The hanekasá also fight against men. If a man, while hunting, kills a hanekasá, a woman in the neighboring tribe will die.

HARAMI

539 One day a young Sanemá man was alone in the forest. He was looking for food. After walking a considerable distance without killing a single /236/ animal, he became very angry, complaining bitterly because the animals remained in their hiding-

/236 cont./

539 places (26).

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26. Taking into account what has already been pointed out as a prayer directed to Omao in order that he allow to come out those animals which he would judge as surplus in the animal kingdom, the young man's behavior can be judged as an offense against God because he would not yield to his will.

The father of the young hunter was at home sitting in front of the fire. He was a sablf. Suddently he saw a swarm of butterflies approaching to put out the fire. A great cloud of smoke arose. The sablf heard the prolonged and penetrating howls of the Great Fox who has various members of his family living in the river. When they come out of the waters, they do not only kill the hunter who made them leave their "house," but all of his family as well. The butterflies also live in the river and are the friends of the Great Fox, whom they help to kill bad and guilty hunters. After putting out the fire they attack the family of the bad hunter, and, if the latter happens to be at home, they suck out his blood from the corners of his eyes. The sablf knew all about this and the grave danger which his son and his whole family were in, but he also knew a means of defending them against the butterflies. He caught some of them and spat on them. The butterflies immediately ceased their attack on him and died. The Great Fox kept quiet because he knew that his victim was in the forest under the protection of a powerful shaman. In this way the young hunter was saved from the teeth of the Great Fox,[1] who devours his victims and swallows them without chewing.

KASMAI

Kasmãi is a man who lives in the river. Every six months, when there is a new moon, he comes out of the water to live for three days among men. This pleases them, and they regale him with a dance celebration. Kasmãi enjoys himself very much at these celebrations. He comes up out of the river with his body

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539 painted red with onoto. His children paint him in the river, which they call "their home." The men give him presents of succulent food, but Kasmãi does not eat much because he is full and has an abundance of food at home. He does not remain long on earth. After three days he invites his companions to bathe in the river and suddenly disappears at the mercy of the waters.

WAU

Wau lives in the river, but he is a cayman. He is not a common cayman, however, since he is the owner of the fish. He runs as fast as the wind and chases men who fish with barbasco or who throw back into the river the bones of fish that they have eaten. Wau always carries an enormous club, and the man whom he pursues can only save himself if he succeeds in quickly ~~600~~ climbing a tall, stout tree. /See the foreign text for the bibliography, pp. 247-263 in the original source, and the table of contents for the entire book, p. 265 in the original source./

conuco--cultivated areas
curiara--the native canoe
guayucos--loincloths
hamacas--hammocks
hɛwĩawán--the priest
hɛnpĩrtĩb--a soul who goes to live in the house of Omao as hĩkula-dîb
hĩkula--an immortal and spiritual vital principle in plants and animals, different than the soul
hĩkula-dîb--ancestors
jefe--chief
káilala--the magician
morrocoy--turtle
póliawan--the jaguar: also used for the domestic dog
sabĩ--the shaman

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[For the role of the guapo in Yanoama society and his interaction with the community, see category 554.]

4:Wilbert

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians SS4

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V
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p. 14	p. 15	p. 16
p. 17	p. 18	p. 19

Chart of Positions of Map 6.
/facing Map 6/

4: Wilbert

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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[Information on the *hîkula*, an immortal vital principle appearing in both plants and animals, but in man different than the soul (which he alone possesses), has been filed in category 774.]

4: Wilbert

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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[Additional information on the role of various supernatural beings in the mythology of the Yanoama will be found in category 139.]